

PART IV.

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

THE AFFAIRS OF ITALY.

1849.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1849.

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PART IV.

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

THE AFFAIRS OF ITALY.

1849.

No. 1.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 1, 1849.)

(Extract.)

Turin, December 27, 1848.

A SARDINIAN messenger was dispatched two days ago to Paris to recall the Marquis Albert Ricci from the post of Sardinian Minister at Paris and from his functions as Sardinian Plenipotentiary at the conferences about to be held at Brussels on the affairs of Northern Italy.

It is given out that the cause of this change in the destination of the Marquis Ricci is the intention of the Sardinian Government to employ the services of this diplomatist upon another mission of importance, but what that mission is has not yet transpired.

I have already announced to your Lordship the departure from hence of Count Arese, a Lombard nobleman, on a special mission to the President of the French Republic; I have now to report that he will continue for the present to reside at Paris as Sardinian Minister.

Since writing the above despatch I have received from his Excellency the Abbé Gioberti a note, copy of which is herewith inclosed.

Your Lordship will perceive from this document that the Government of His Sardinian Majesty are anxious to prove to the Cabinets of London and of Paris that the recall of the Marquis Ricci is in no way to be considered as an attempt on their part to throw obstacles in the way of the opening of the conferences at Brussels, but as the result of the exigencies of the public service, and that they are on the contrary desirous by the present communication of the change which had been rendered necessary, and of the steps which it had in consequence entailed, to testify to the mediating Powers not only their acknowledgments for the interest which they take in the affairs of Northern Italy, but their hope that no delay may arise on their account in the opening of the conferences at Brussels.

Inclosure in No. 1.

M. Gioberti to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Turin, le 27 Décembre, 1848.

LE ROI ayant jugé convenable, à raison de circonstances politiques, de révoquer le mandat qu'il avait donné à M. le Marquis Albert de Ricci de le représenter en qualité de Plénipotentiaire aux conférences de Bruxelles, le

PART 4.

B

Soussigné, &c., se fait un devoir d'en informer MM. les Plénipotentiaires de Sa Majesté Britannique et de la République Française. Il a en même temps l'honneur de les prévenir que Sa Majesté, désirant que ce changement de détermination n'apporte pas de retard à cette importante mission, fixera incessamment son choix sur la personne à qui elle sera confiée. En se réservant d'en faire part à MM. les Plénipotentiaires, le Soussigné se plaît à leur donner l'assurance que le Gouvernement du Roi y mettra un empressement égal à l'intérêt qu'il attache au résultat de la bienveillante entremise des Puissances médiatrices.

Il saisit, &c.

(Signé) GIOBERTI.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Turin, December 27, 1848.

THE King having thought fit, in consequence of political circumstances, to revoke the commission which he had given to the Marquis Albert de Ricci, to represent him in the character of Plenipotentiary at the conferences at Brussels, the Undersigned, &c., makes it his duty to inform the Plenipotentiaries of Her Britannic Majesty and of the French Republic of his having done so. He has at the same time the honour to acquaint them that His Majesty, being desirous that this alteration in his determination may not cause any delay in that important mission, will immediately fix his choice on the person to whom it is to be entrusted. Reserving for another time to give notice thereof to the Plenipotentiaries, the Undersigned assures them that the speed with which the King's Government will make the selection, will be proportioned to the interest which it attaches to the result of the benevolent intervention of the mediating Powers.

He avails, &c.

(Signed) GIOBERTI.

No. 2.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 1, 1849.)

My Lord,

Venice, December 17, 1848.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 13th instant, reporting the departure of the Roman troops from Venice, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that on the afternoon of the 14th instant three steamers of the Sardinian squadron arrived here from Ancona, with about 1500 men on board for the service of the Venetian Government.

I am told that the principal part of these men are from the neighbourhood of Bologna, but that a portion are deserters from the Austrian corps on the Po.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 3.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 1, 1849.)

My Lord,

Vienna, December 26, 1848.

YOUR Lordship has been informed of the Pope's application to the Imperial Government for the aid of Austria for His Holiness's re-establishment in Rome, and your Lordship knows that the Imperial Government had determined not to interfere, but to send troops to the frontier to be prepared to repel all aggression from the Roman territory.

Your Lordship no doubt will have heard from Paris that the Imperial Government has made a communication to the French Government of the request made by the Pope, and has at the same time inquired if the French Government will act in conjunction with the Austrian in support of the Pope. The King of Naples has declared his want of power to act without the coopera-

tion of Austria and France. Your Lordship will know whether or not the Imperial Government has made any communication to Her Majesty's Government upon the subject above mentioned. I believe that none has been made.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 4.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 3, 1849.)

My Lord,

Turin, December 28, 1848.

THIS morning the Minister of the Interior communicated to the Chambers a decree by which they stand prorogued until the 23rd of January, 1849.

This prorogation will be immediately followed by a dissolution, and the Chambers will I am given to understand be again convoked for business in the month of January 1849.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 5.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 5, 1849.)

My Lord,

Milan, December 30, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that a proclamation from his Excellency Field-Marshal Radetzky has been published this day, of which the following is a translation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

Proclamation of Marshal Radetzky.

Milan, December 30, 1848.

In order to remove every obstacle or pretext for the return to their country of those subjects belonging to the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, who although not notoriously implicated in the Revolution, nevertheless in consequence of political convulsions remain illegally absent, I deem it proper to grant them till the end of January next as sufficient time to enable them to re-enter the Imperial and Royal States.

At the expiration of this period the disobedient shall be indiscriminately treated as emigrants not legally authorized to remain abroad, and as such the Government will cause their property of every description to be sequestered in conformity with the existing laws, the present Proclamation replacing the Decree of Recall as set forth in the 7th and 26th paragraphs of the Sovereign Edict (Sovrana Patente) of the 24th March, 1832.

(Signed) RADETZKY, *Field-Marshal.*

No. 6.

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, January 5, 1849.

IN regard to the present position of the Pope I have to observe that no doubt it is obviously desirable that a person who in his spiritual capacity has

great and extensive influence over the internal affairs of most of the countries in Europe, should be in such a position of independence as not to be liable to be used by any one European Power as a political instrument for the annoyance of any other Power; and in this view it is much to be wished that the Pope should be Sovereign of a territory of his own.

On the other hand, if it be admitted as a general principle, that questions and differences between the people and the Sovereign of each State should be left to be settled by those parties without the interference of any foreign armed force, it is not easy to see, in the peculiar position of the Pope with regard to his subjects, what should make the Roman States an exception to this general rule.

The main circumstance in which the relations between the Pope and his subjects differ from the relations which subsist between other Sovereigns and their subjects, is that the Pope does not reign either by hereditary right or by the choice of the people whom he governs, but that he is elected by the College of Cardinals, a body which is not in its constitution national, which is I believe self-elected, and of which about a half are not natives of the State for which they choose the Sovereign.

These circumstances would seem to render it the more incumbent on the Pope to give to his subjects the requisite securities for good government, and these circumstances would also appear to render it the less justifiable for any foreign Powers to use armed interference in order to assist the Pope in maintaining, if he were so disposed, a bad system of Government.

No. 7.

*Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.**

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 5, 1849.

I HAVE to instruct your Excellency to state to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, that Sir Henry Ellis, who has been appointed to be the British Plenipotentiary at the conferences which are to be held at Brussels respecting the affairs of Northern Italy, is ready to go to that capital immediately in order to begin the negotiations for the restoration of peace between Austria and Piedmont; and your Excellency will request that the French Minister will enable you to inform Her Majesty's Government when the French Plenipotentiary will proceed to Brussels.

Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna and Her Majesty's Minister at Turin will be instructed to address a similar application to the Austrian and Sardinian Governments.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 8.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston. — (Received January 5, 1849.)

My Lord,

Turin, December 31, 1848.

A DECREE was published yesterday dissolving the Chambers, appointing the elections to take place on the 15th of January next, and convoking the Parliament for the dispatch of business on the 23rd of the same month.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

* Similar despatches to Lord Ponsonby and to Mr. Abercromby.

No. 9.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 5, 1849.)

(Extract.)

Turin, December 31, 1848.

THE French Consul-General at Milan has written to inform my French colleague at this Court, that Field-Marshal Count Radetzky has prohibited all intercourse between Lombardy and the States of His Sardinian Majesty, and that the delivery of all passports at Milan for Piedmont has been suspended.

Letters are however to be allowed to have their usual course, but the correspondence will, I am informed, be carried by estafette and not by malleposte.

A measure so unusual as the one now adopted by the Marshal has given rise to various conjectures, and amongst other explanations which have been given for this step is the one, that it is the result of a moment of irritation at seeing the provisions of forage for his cavalry and horses which he had purchased at Genoa refused permission to be exported.

It is also said that the Marshal, in the event of a renewal of hostilities, is anxious, by prohibiting all communication of individuals between the two countries, to conceal the knowledge of his military movements.

No. 10.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 7.)

My Lord,

Turin, January 2, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith to your Lordship a translation of an order issued by the Austrian authorities in Lombardy regulating the limited extent of intercourse that is to be permitted to exist between the Austrian States and Piedmont.

Your Lordship will no doubt deem the adoption by the Austrian authorities of measures of such rigour to be somewhat extraordinary, particularly when it is considered that they are not the consequence of any aggressive or hostile proceedings on the part of Sardinia.

Measures such as these to which I allude, when judged of in conjunction with the movements of Austrian troops now carrying forward in the direction of the Duchies, the passages of the Po, and the lines of march threatening the passes of the Apennines leading to Genoa, cannot but excite public attention and raise additional suspicion at a moment when by the nomination of her Plenipotentiaries to the conferences at Brussels, Austria is willing to give the impression that she is prepared to negotiate for peace.

The military movements which I have mentioned as being now in course of execution would be equally applicable for a combined operation for the invasion of the provinces of Central Italy by Austria and Naples.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 10.

Circular issued by the Austrian Authorities in Lombardy.

(Translation.)

IN compliance with the orders of his Excellency Field-Marshal Radetzky, communicated through the General Intendence of the Imperial and Royal Army by a despatch dated 24th December, 1848, marked No. 6656, for the purpose of reducing as much as possible the movement of people between Lombardy and

Piedmont, and in consequence of the measures concerted with the Imperial and Royal Provincial Delegation, you are requested to forbid the entrance, from the 1st of January, 1849, of carriages of all descriptions containing passengers, and to send them back to the place whence they came, with the exception of—1, Military and diplomatic couriers, described as such in their passports; 2, Persons travelling by post in their own carriages, provided their passports be duly visé'd; 3, Post-carts containing letters, and having only a postilion as driver; 4, Carts containing nothing but merchandise.

You will acknowledge the receipt of the present despatch.

The Imperial and Royal Intendent,
(Signed) MARIENI.

Besides the above written communication there is a verbal one by which the frontier guards are ordered to examine all persons entering Lombardy, without distinction of rank or sex, and immediately to arrest the bearers of pamphlets, papers, and political publications from Piedmont.

No. 11.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 8, 1849.)

My Lord,

Venice, December 27, 1848.

I TRANSMIT to your Lordship herewith a copy and abstract of a decree published by the Provisional Government of Venice on the 24th instant, ordering the election by universal suffrage of a permanent Assembly of Representatives of the State of Venice, such being required by the actual political situation of affairs, with power to decide upon all questions relating to the internal or external condition of the country.

The elections are to commence on the 20th January, and to last three days. As soon as they are completed the Government will convoke the Assembly for the election of a President and the arrangement of its internal regulations.

The decree states that in proportion as other parts of the territory become free additional electoral districts will be established.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

Inclosure in No. 11.

Abstract of a Decree of the Provisional Government of Venice ordering the Election of a permanent Assembly of Representatives.

(Translation.)

The Provisional Government of Venice,

CONSIDERING that our political situation requires the existence of a permanent Assembly of Representatives, which being furnished with unlimited powers may be promptly convoked on any emergency;

Decrees:

A permanent Assembly of the Representatives of the State of Venice is instituted.

It shall have power to decide upon all subjects relating to the internal or external situation of the State.

The following are the regulations established for the election of the representatives:

1. The Assembly is composed of Representatives elected by direct universal suffrage, with relative majority of votes by ballot.

2. The basis of the representation is the population, and one Representative is to be named for every 1500 inhabitants.

3. The elections are to be made by electoral districts, which are specified in the following table, in which the territory of the State at present free is divided, and the number of Representatives to be elected in each district according to its population, is marked. Accordingly as other portions of the territory shall become free, additional electoral districts shall be established.

[Here follows the table of electoral districts, comprising the various parishes in the communes of Venice, Chioggia, Burano, Murano, Malamocco, and Palestrina; which furnish according to their respective populations the number of one hundred and twenty-eight Representatives.]

4. Are electors: All male citizens who shall have completed the age of twenty-one years on the first day of the election.

5. Those persons are considered citizens for the exercise of the elective right:

a. Who have been domiciliated in the territory of the State for six months and who have not preserved other rights of citizenship;

b. Who are enrolled in the military service of the State and have not preserved other rights of citizenship.

7. All citizens who have completed the age of twenty-five years on the day of the election are eligible to be Representatives.

8. Those individuals, however, are ineligible who may have been prosecuted for any serious offence, for robbery, breach of trust, or for any offence against public morals, unless they shall have obtained a verdict of entire acquittal. And as regards persons in the military service of the State, those individuals are to be considered ineligible who shall have suffered loss of rank by virtue of a sentence, or may be actually undergoing an inquisition on a charge of cowardice, or have undergone such inquisition at any former period without having obtained verdicts of entire acquittal.

In the above cases of ineligibility are not included persons condemned or placed under inquisition for political offences by the late Government.

10. The elective right must be exercised in person.

Articles 11 to 42 contain various directions as to the inscription of electors' names; the formation of the list of electors; decision of claims of persons not entered in the parochial lists; mode of giving and of examining votes given; and the mode in which the military are to vote.

The elections are to take place simultaneously in all the electoral districts on the 20th January, 1849.

42. If the same individual should be named by more than one electoral district, he shall be invited by the Central Commission to declare in writing within twenty-four hours which district he intends to represent. And in the absence of such declaration he shall be considered elected for that district in which he obtained the greatest number of votes.

44. Immediately on the termination of the elections, the Government, by an express decree for that purpose, shall convoke the Assembly for the purpose of verifying titles, nominating a President, and establishing internal regulations.

45. In the event of the Assembly deciding that the election of a Representative is irregular, a new election for the district for which he was elected shall immediately take place. This is also to be observed whenever there is a vacancy in the representation of any district, from whatever cause arising.

46. The Assembly may proceed to deliberate whenever there shall be present one more than the half of the number of Representatives of which it is to consist according to Article 3.

47. The powers conferred on the Representatives are to be considered as in force for six months, from the date of the first meeting of the Assembly.

Venice, December 24, 1848.

(Signed)

MANIN.
GRAZIANI.
CAVEDALIS.

No. 12.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 9.)

My Lord,

Milan, January 2, 1849.

I DO myself the honour to inform your Lordship that a notice was issued lately by Count Montecucoli, the Imperial Plenipotentiary here, by which the exportation of gold and silver from these States is prohibited. The only exception is in favour of travellers and merchants, who are allowed to take 100 florins (about 10*l.* sterling) with them, with the obligation of making a declaration at the custom-house respecting the same, which must also be done even though the sum only amounts to 50 florins (about 5*l.* sterling).

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 13.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 9.)

My Lord,

Milan, January 3, 1849.

I DO myself the honour to inform your Lordship that since the 1st of the present month all diligences, *malle-postes*, and other public conveyances, are prohibited by the Government here from running between the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom and the Sardinian, Tuscan, and Roman States.

In consequence of this measure (of which no official communication has been issued) travellers cannot proceed from hence to any of the aforesaid States without their first obtaining a special permission from the Military Governor of Milan.

The post-office communications remain open as heretofore.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 14.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 9.)

My Lord,

Vienna, January 3, 1849.

PRINCE SCHWARZENBERG is still at Ohnütz. I have applied to him for information respecting the affair of the contributions and I will report immediately what I learn. At present I will take the liberty to state the substance, as I understand it, of the measures now in existence by order of Field-Marshal Radetzky in the Milanese.

The money is levied upon those individuals who have refused to profit by the amnesty and who continue to conspire against the Austrian authority. The estates of those persons are put under sequestration, not confiscated. If those individuals choose to ask for permission to remain out of the country, it will, as I am told, be granted to them.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 15.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 9.)

(Extract.)

Paris, January 8, 1849.

YESTERDAY M. Drouyn de Lhuys mentioned a communication which he had received from the Spanish and Portuguese Governments of their desire that there should be a Congress of Catholic Powers to consider the position of the Pope, and that it should be held either at Madrid or Barcelona.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys said that he had given no answer to this proposal except generally that he considered the independence of the Pope as not merely a Catholic question, and as such interesting all who had Catholic subjects; but also as an European question, and one worthy of attention in that respect.

He added that Naples and Bavaria were, as well as Spain and Portugal, stirring upon the subject.

No. 16.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 9.)

My Lord,

Turin, January 3, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship a translated extract from a proclamation issued on the 2nd instant at Milan by order of Field-Marshal Count Radetzky, notifying the course of proceeding which will be pursued by the Austrian authorities towards subjects of Austria arrested without passports or who cannot satisfactorily account for having been absent beyond the frontier, and towards those who, having taken military service against Austria, may fall into the hands of the Austrians.

It is worthy of remark that this decree does not specify that its provisions are only to come into operation at the expiration of the month of January of this year, the term within which, in virtue of another decree, all Austrian-Italian subjects now out of the country are permitted to return, and there is therefore an apparent contradiction between these decrees.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 16.

Extract from a Proclamation published at Milan on the 2nd January, 1849.

(Translation.)

Verona, December 27, 1848.

IT having been proved that young men belonging to the Imperial and Royal Lombardo-Venetian Provinces go abroad without legal authorization from the competent authorities, and take service against Austria, his Excellency Count Radetzky, Field-Marshal and Commander-in-chief, has ordered:

That persons without passports and unable to give a perfectly satisfactory account of the object of their journey shall be given up to the military authorities and enlisted in German regiments out of Italy.

That individuals who shall have succeeded in crossing the frontier and taking service against Austria, shall be, if taken, punished according to the laws of high treason, and that they are not in any case to have the least hope of being treated as prisoners of war.

The Lieutenant Field-Marshal,

(Signed)

GERHARDI.

No. 17.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 10.)

My Lord,

Turin, January 5, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a printed copy and translation in *extenso* of the decree published by order of Field-Marshal Count Radetzky, extracts of which I yesterday forwarded to you in my despatch of the 3rd instant.

Your Lordship will observe that by the 7th Article of this decree six weeks are allowed for the return of those persons belonging to the Venetian Provinces who are absent without legal permission.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 17.

Proclamation issued by order of Marshal Radetzky.

VERIFICANDOSI dei casi che i giovani delle Imperiali Reali Provincie Lombardo-Venete senza legale autorizzazione delle competenti loro autorità si recano all'estero ed entrano al servizio militare contro l'Austria, sua Eccellenza il Signor Comandante Generale in capo Feld-Maresciallo Conte Radetzky è indotto a prendere contro una tale illegalità le seguenti disposizioni che con questo proclama si portano a comune notizia:

1. Quegli individui che furono già colti nella fuga e arrestati dall'autorità politica, verranno subito consegnati al militare ed arruolati in reggimenti Tedeschi fuori d'Italia.

2. Tutte le autorità politiche, le delegazioni, le municipalità, i commissariati distrettuali ed i comuni sono incaricati sotto la propria responsabilità di esser solleciti che la polizia e le guardie di sicurezza inviglino i viaggiatori, e arrestino chiunque non ha il suo passaporto: senza però importunare di soverchio i viaggiatori di condizione civile.

3. Chiunque privo di passaporto non può interamente giustificare lo scopo del suo viaggio, verrà tosto trasmesso al militare, ed arruolato in un reggimento Tedesco fuori d'Italia, e quelli soltanto che non possono venir impiegati nel servizio militare, nemmeno come infermieri, saranno consegnati alle autorità civili per la competente loro procedura.

4. Gl'individui ai quali riuscì di sottrarsi in paese straniero e prendono servizio militare contro l'Austria, una volta che siano arrestati, vengono puniti a tenore delle leggi d'alto tradimento, e non hanno in qualunque caso alcuna speranza di essere trattati come prigionieri di guerra.

5. Albergatori ed altri che siano convinti di avere dato asilo ad individui senza passaporto, saranno puniti con una multa pecuniaria di 15 lire Austriache per la prima volta, di 30 per la seconda, e così progressivamente sempre crescendo di 15 in 15 lire Austriache. Coloro che saranno convinti di avere sedotto a fuggire dei giovani verranno anch'essi trattati conforme alle leggi.

6. Contro quelli che posseggono dei beni verrà poi proceduto secondo le disposizioni già pubblicate in alcune provincie Venete.

7. I qui sotto denominati che si allontanarono da Verona senza legale autorizzazione delle autorità, come pure tutti gl'individui profughi da altri paesi delle Provincie Venete, sono invitati nel termine di sei settimane dalla data del presente proclama a tornarsene al loro domicilio illegalmente abbandonato, altrimenti scaduto esso tempo, saranno trattati nel senso delle sopra citate disposizioni.

8. Per ultimo dovranno le autorità immediatamente arrestare quegli individui militari che, scorso il periodo concesso al perdono generale, cioè, fino al 28 Dicembre, 1848, non ritornano ai loro corpi di truppe, e trasmetterli al militare, e verranno poscia puniti dalla competente giurisdizione a norma delle vigenti leggi.

Verona, 27 Dicembre, 1848.

Dall' Imperial e Real Comando della Fortezza,
Il Tenente-Maresciallo,
(Firmato) GERHARDI.

(Translation.)

Verona, December 27, 1848.

IT having been proved that young men belonging to the Imperial and Royal Lombardo-Venetian Provinces go abroad without legal authorization from the competent authorities in order to take military service against Austria, his Excellency Field-Marshal Radetzky, Commander-in-chief, has been led to issue against such illegal practices the regulations which follow:—

1. Individuals found making their escape and arrested by the civil authorities, will be immediately given up to the military authorities and enlisted in German regiments out of Italy.

2. All the political authorities, the delegations, the municipalities, the district commissions, and the communes, are ordered under their responsibility to see that the police and guardians of the public peace watch travellers, and that they arrest all persons without passports, but without giving unnecessary annoyance to respectable travellers.

3. Individuals without passports, unable to give a perfectly satisfactory account of the object of their journey, will be given up immediately to the military authorities and enlisted in a German regiment out of Italy, and those only who are unfit for military service even in the hospitals, will be given up to the civil authorities for trial.

4. Individuals who shall have succeeded in reaching a foreign country and taking military service against Austria, will if taken be punished according to the law of high treason, without the least hope in any case to be treated as prisoners of war.

5. Innkeepers and other persons convicted of having received individuals without passports, will be fined 15 Austrian lire for the first time, 30 for the second, and so on with the addition of 15 Austrian lire for every fresh offence. Those also who shall have been convicted of having induced young men to leave the country, will be dealt with according to the laws.

6. Those who have some property will be proceeded against according to the regulations already published in some of the Venetian Provinces.

7. The persons mentioned in the list which follows, who have left Verona without legal authorization from the authorities, as well as those who have left the other Venetian Provinces, are invited within the space of six weeks from the date of the present proclamation to return to their respective residences which they have illegally abandoned, under the penalty, at the expiration of that time, of being dealt with according to the above-mentioned regulations.

8. Lastly, the authorities are immediately to arrest all those soldiers who, after the term fixed by the general amnesty, that is, the 28th December, 1848, shall not have joined their respective regiments, in order that they may be given up to the military authorities and punished by the competent tribunals according to the existing laws.

The Imperial and Royal Governor, Lieutenant Field-Marshal,
(Signed) GERHARDI.

[Here follows a list of sixty-three persons.]

No. 18.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 10.)

My Lord,

Florence, January 2, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith Mr. Petre's despatch dated Rome, December 30th, stating that a Provisional Government had been declared in Rome, and a National Assembly called to determine the mode of administering public affairs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 18.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Rome, December 30, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to report to you, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, that an address from the Ministers to the people of the Roman States, proclaiming a Provisional Government, and calling a National Assembly in Rome to determine the mode of administering public affairs, was published yesterday evening.

The Senator Prince Corsini had resigned his office as one of the Giunta di Stato, immediately after signing the decree which I mentioned in my despatch of yesterday for the closing of the Chambers, but his two colleagues, Count Camerata and Signor Galletti, have joined the Ministers in signing the above-named address, and now form with the Ministers part of the Provisional Government.

The electoral colleges are to meet on the 21st of January next.

The number of Representatives is fixed at 200, to be chosen by direct and universal suffrage.

Each Representative is to receive two dollars a-day during the session.

The National Assembly is to meet on the 5th of February next in Rome.

A hundred and one guns were fired in celebration of the event from the Castle of St. Angelo, two or three clubs were illuminated, and some church bells were rung, but no other signs of joy were manifested.

A large majority of the Deputies is against these doings, they are the work of clubs here and in the provincial towns. It will be well for the Roman State if the country population look on with the same indifference as the inhabitants of Rome.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM PETRE.

No. 19.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 10.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, January 5, 1848.

THE official declaration in the Gazette, under date Vienna, December 27, records the views taken by the Imperial Government of the conduct of the Pope, and of affairs in Rome.

Inclosure in No. 19.

Extract from the Vienna Gazette.

27 Décembre, 1848.

LORSQUE Pie IX monta sur le Trône Pontifical, on sentait généralement le besoin d'introduire de vastes réformes dans l'administration de l'Etat de l'Eglise. Le nouveau Pape sut reconnaître ce besoin, et il entra résolument, aux vives acclamations de l'Europe, dans la voie du progrès légal. Parmi les admirateurs enthousiastes de Pie IX, on remarquait surtout les adhérens d'un parti qui avait juré une haine implacable à toute autorité spirituelle et temporelle comme représentante de l'ordre social, et qui depuis nombre d'années avait choisi la Péninsule Italique pour en faire le théâtre de ses perverses desseins. Il était facile de pénétrer les projets de ces gens-là. Ils eurent bientôt reconnu que rien ne pourrait mieux favoriser leurs plans que de les continuer sous le manteau de l'illustre nom de Pie IX. Dès-lors, on mit en jeu à Rome tous les leviers de la révolution, et cette ville de la paix devint l'arène des passions déchaînées et le centre d'un mouvement qui ne tarda pas à pousser les esprits dans une direction que dut condamner le Pape, attendu qu'elle dépassait de beaucoup le but qu'il s'était proposé dans son cœur bienveillant.

Mais la République Italienne une et indivisible, à laquelle aboutissaient les efforts du Radicalisme Transalpin, était impossible tant que la puissance de l'Autriche sur le Pô et sur le Tessin opposait une forte digue aux flots de la révolution. Il était par conséquent très naturel que l'expulsion des Autrichiens devint le cri de guerre général des Radicaux, et que, pour atteindre plus sûrement à ce but, ces derniers cherchassent à provoquer à tout prix un conflit entre le Gouvernement Impérial et celui du Pape, persuadés qu'ils étaient que la popularité extraordinaire de Pie IX pèserait d'un grand poids dans la balance au préjudice de l'adversaire. Si ces menées et ces intrigues du parti Révolutionnaire, qui ne recule devant aucun moyen quand il s'agit de réaliser son but antisocial, n'amenèrent pas, déjà à l'occasion des démêlés de Ferrare, une rupture entre les deux Gouvernemens, on n'en est redevable qu'à la grande modération et à la longanimité de l'Autriche, qui, tenant compte, comme elle le devait, des embarras extrêmes du Saint Père, lequel reconnut avec douleur qu'il était débordé par le parti du mouvement, ne pouvait ni ne voulait oublier que le Souverain des Etats Pontificaux est eu même tems le chef suprême de l'Eglise dont fait partie la majorité des peuples de l'Autriche. Mais cette modération, loin d'être appréciée, ne fit qu'exciter davantage la rage du parti Révolutionnaire. On arracha les armes d'Autriche du palais de l'Ambassade à Rome, et bien que le Saint Père exprimât lui-même à l'Ambassadeur d'Autriche ses vifs regrets de cette indigne violation du droit des gens, son Gouvernement était trop faible en présence de l'arrogance des partis pour réparer l'insulte qui avait été commise.

Vers cette même époque, des troupes Papales passèrent le Po, contre la volonté expresse de leur légitime Souverain, pour combattre dans les rangs des ennemis de l'Autriche, et prouvèrent de la sorte, d'une manière irrécusable, que l'autorité du Pape dans son propre pays n'était plus qu'un fantôme. Lorsque ces faits de notoriété publique eurent donné au Gouvernement Autrichien la triste certitude que le Saint Père n'était plus libre ni en état d'accorder à son Représentant la protection internationale à laquelle il avait droit, il ne lui restait d'autre alternative que de rappeler de Rome l'Ambassadeur d'Autriche.

Maintenant les choses ont changé. Poussé aux dernières limites par l'horrible ingratitude de ceux sur qui il ne voulait que répandre des bienfaits et qui naguère encore l'élevaient jusqu'aux nues, le Saint Père a dû se soustraire par la fuite à ces violences. Arrivé à Gaète, il a protesté solennellement à la face du monde contre l'attentat criminel du 16 Novembre, et déclaré nuls et non-avenus tous les actes qui en sont la conséquence. Cette protestation a été communiquée officiellement à la Cour Impériale. Comme il ressort clairement de ce document que le Saint Père a échappé aux mains de ses oppresseurs, et que, comme il possède la liberté nécessaire pour exercer

ses fonctions Apostoliques, Sa Majesté l'Empereur, obéissant à l'impulsion de son cœur, renouera avec le chef suprême de l'Eglise les relations diplomatiques, si importantes pour les intérêts religieux de ses peuples, et lui offrira l'expression des sincères sympathies que méritent à un si haut degré les vertus, le malheur et la haute position de Pie IX. A cet effet un Envoyé Impérial se rendra immédiatement à Gaëte auprès du Saint Père.

(Translation.)

December 27, 1848.

WHEN Pius IX mounted the Pontifical Throne, there was a general feeling that large reforms must be introduced into the administration of the States of the Church. The new Pope was wise enough to recognize this necessity, and amidst the loud applause of Europe he entered resolutely upon a course of legal progress. Amongst the enthusiastic admirers of Pius IX, were beyond all others to be noticed the adherents of a party which had sworn an implacable hatred against all spiritual and temporal authority as representing social order, and which for many years had chosen the Italian Peninsula as the theatre for its pernicious designs. It was easy to penetrate the intentions of those people. They had quickly found out that nothing could be more favourable for their plans than to continue them under the cloak of the illustrious name of Pius IX. From that time all the contrivances of revolution were put in action at Rome, and that city of peace became an arena for unbridled passions and the centre of a movement which was not slow in urging people's minds in a direction which would commit the Pope, inasmuch as it went far beyond the end which in his benevolent mind he had proposed to himself.

But the single and indivisible Italian Republic to which all the efforts of Transalpine Radicalism were directed, was impossible so long as the power of Austria on the Po and on the Ticino opposed a strong barrier to the tide of revolution. It was therefore very natural that the expulsion of the Austrians should become the general war cry of the Radicals, and that in order more certainly to arrive at that end, that party should seek at all hazards to provoke a conflict between the Imperial Government and that of the Pope, persuaded as they were that the extraordinary popularity of Pius IX would be a heavy weight in the balance, as opposed to an adversary. If these proceedings and intrigues of the Revolutionary party, which stops at nothing when there is a question of accomplishing its anti-social objects, did not on the occasion of the dispute at Ferrara, produce a rupture between the two Governments, thanks are in that respect only due to the great moderation and patience of Austria, who, bearing in mind, as she ought to do, the extreme difficulties in which the Pope was placed, who acknowledged with sorrow that he was carried away by the movement party, neither could nor desired to forget that the Sovereign of the Pontifical States was at the same time the Supreme Chief of the Church of which a majority of the Austrian people forms a part. But this moderation, far from being appreciated, only still further excited the rage of the Revolutionary party. The arms of Austria were torn down from the Ambassador's palace at Rome; and although the Holy Father himself expressed to the Austrian Ambassador his great regret at this unworthy violation of the law of nations, his Government was too weak, as opposed to the arrogance of party, to be able to make reparation for the insult which had been offered.

About the same time the Papal troops crossed the Po, contrary to the express wishes of their legitimate Sovereign, to fight in the ranks of the enemies of Austria, and thus proved in a way not admitting of contradiction, that the authority of the Pope in his own country was now only a shadow. When these facts, which were publicly notorious, had afforded the Austrian Government the sad certainty that the Pope was no longer free, nor in a position to give to their Representative that international protection to which he was entitled, it had no other alternative than to recall from Rome the Austrian Ambassador.

Now affairs have altered. Driven to the last extremities by the horrible ingratitude of those over whom he only desired to scatter blessings, and who only lately praised him up to the skies, the Holy Father has been obliged to

escape by flight from violence. On his arrival at Gaeta he has solemnly protested in the face of the whole world against the criminal attempts of the 16th of November, and has declared null and of no effect all acts which were consequent on it. This protest has been officially communicated to the Imperial Court. As it clearly results from that document that the Holy Father has escaped from the hands of his oppressors, and as he possesses the liberty necessary for the exercise of his Apostolic functions, His Majesty the Emperor, obeying the impulses of his heart, will renew with the Supreme Head of the Church his diplomatic relations, so important to the religious interests of his people, and will offer to him the expression of sincere sympathy which is so highly deserved by the virtues, the misfortunes, and high position of Pius IX. With this intent an Imperial Envoy will immediately go to the Pope at Gaeta.

No. 20.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 11.)

My Lord,

Vienna, January 6, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to report the view which I know is taken by the Imperial Government of the affair of the monies to be levied on the Milanese absentees, and your Lordship will see what is to be its termination.

Marshal Radetzky, on his first entrance into Milan, proposed to lay a war contribution on those who were the most culpable. The Imperial Government approved of the idea, care being taken not to punish the innocent; time was requisite to make the distinction between culpable and innocent persons, and while this was doing at Milan, the Government at Vienna issued the amnesty of September 20th. This would have made the war contribution as it was proposed by the Marshal appear in a bad light, and therefore the measure intended was not taken, but in its stead the actual existing law against illegal absence was applied to the refugees. Those of the refugees who shall return before the end of the month of January will enjoy the amnesty of September 20th, fully and completely. Those who do not return will be treated as emigrants without leave.

It is contrary to the law of the empire for the subjects to absent themselves without leave.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 21.

The Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 11.)

(Extract.)

Berlin, January 8, 1849.

M. DE HUMANN, formerly the French Secretary of Legation at this Court, arrived here yesterday from Paris on his way to Vienna, charged with a special mission.

M. de Humann left Berlin for Vienna last night, and expects to return through here to Paris in the course of eight or ten days.

No. 22.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 12, 1849.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna,* stating the intentions of the Austrian Government with reference to the contributions to be levied under the authority of Marshal Radetzky on parties absent from Lombardy without the sanction of the proper authorities.

I have to state to you, with reference to this matter, that Her Majesty's Government have reason to believe that those Lombards and Venetians who can assign good cause for not returning to their respective homes, and who are not engaged in any plots against the Austrian Government, will upon application receive permission to delay their return for a certain time.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 23.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 12.)

(Extract.)

Paris, January 11, 1849.

M. DROUYN DE LHUYS told me yesterday that the Duke de Sotomayor was continually urging him to take some step in accordance with the proposal that had been made by his Excellency from the Spanish Government, that there should be an understanding between the Catholic Powers as to the restoration of the Pope's authority, and that a Congress should be held either at Barcelona or some other point in the Mediterranean, at which Spain, Portugal, and France should specially be prepared to assist.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys said that he had discouraged such an idea, that he had told the Spanish Ambassador that he could not consider the present position of the Pope as purely Catholic, though no doubt the Catholic Powers had a peculiar interest in it.

No. 24.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 12.)

(Extract.)

Turin, January 6, 1849.

THE following appointments have been finally made:—

The Marquis Sauli of Genoa will proceed to England and replace the Count Adrien de Revel as Sardinian Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Her Majesty's Court; and the Marquis Albert Ricci, late Sardinian Minister at Paris, will represent Sardinia at the conferences at Brussels.

No. 25.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 13.)

My Lord,

Vienna, January 7, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit in original and translation, a proclamation issued by Field-Marshal Radetzky to the Italian refugees.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

* See No. 20.

Inclosure in No. 25.

Proclamation of Marshal Radetzky.

Milano, il 30 Dicembre, 1848.

ALL' oggetto di rimuovere ogni ostacolo o pretesto al ripatrio di quei sudditi del Regno Lombardo-Veneto, i quali, benchè non indiziati notoriamente di complicità nella Rivoluzione, ciò nullameno a motivo degli sconvolgimenti politici, illegalmente assenti all' estero, trovo di accordare loro il termine a tutto Gennaio prossimo venturo come tempo utile per rientrare negl' Imperiali Reali Stati.

Spirato questo termine, i renitenti saranno senz' altro trattati come emigrati senz' autorizzazione, e si passerà al sequestro dei loro beni mobili ed immobili, a termini delle leggi vigenti, tenendo luogo il presente proclama dell' editto di richiamo contemplato ai § 7 e 26 della Sovrana Patente 24 Marzo, 1832.

(Firmato) RADEZKY, *Feld-Maresciallo.*

(Translation.)

Milan, December 30, 1848.

IN order to remove every obstacle or pretext to the return to their country of those subjects of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom who, although not particularly pointed out as being mixed up with the Revolution, have nevertheless in consequence of the political disturbances, illegally absented themselves in foreign countries, it has been thought fit to grant them the whole time till the end of January next, as the delay necessary for them to return into the Imperial Royal dominions.

At the expiration of that period the recusants will be most certainly treated as emigrants without leave, and their personal and real property will be immediately sequestrated agreeably to the existing laws, this proclamation taking the place of the edict of recall contemplated by paragraphs 7 and 26 of the Sovereign Patent of March 24, 1832.

(Signed) RADEZKY.

No. 26.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 15, 1849.)

My Lord,

Florence, December 28, 1848.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 12th instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I have received a note from M. Montanelli, acquainting me with the immediate departure for Brussels of the Commandeur Martini, Minister Resident of Tuscany at Turin. He is furnished by the Grand Ducal Government with full powers to negotiate, conclude, and sign, in conjunction with the Representatives of other Powers admitted to the Congress, any Articles or Conventions that they may deem expedient for the settlement of Italian affairs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 27.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 15, 1849.)

My Lord,

Florence, December 30, 1848.

AN article appeared lately in the "Opinione" newspaper of Turin to the following effect:—

"It is said that the English Minister at Florence has sent in a note to the
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Tuscan Government to declare that Great Britain will not allow the Constitutional Statute to be violated (that is to say, probably, that the Grand Duke shall not be dethroned), and in case of such an event happening, that an English squadron would immediately blockade the port of Leghorn."

I need hardly inform your Lordship that there is not the slightest foundation for such a statement, and the Tuscan Government immediately on the article in question becoming known caused a refutation of it to be put in all the newspapers published here.

I should have hardly deemed the matter of sufficient importance to report to your Lordship, had I not perceived in the "*Journal des Débats*" received to-day that particular mention was made of the circumstance.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 28.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 15.)

(Extract.)

Florence, December 30, 1848.

I COMMUNICATED your despatches of the 17th and 30th of November to the Tuscan Government, and they have availed themselves of the tenor of your instructions to me, contained in the former, to justify to their adherents the adoption of measures which, to their advanced ideas of liberty, appeared rather too retrograde. Twenty-four hours after I had communicated the despatch in question, its contents were known to all Florence.

M. Montanelli appeared also fully to acknowledge the justice of your Lordship's remarks as to the best line of conduct which the Italians can adopt in the present state of affairs in the Peninsula.

Everything is quiet at present in Tuscany. The acts of the present Administration are calculated to preserve order and restore confidence. The Chambers are to meet on the 10th January.

The elections, which were interrupted in Florence by the violence of the mob, were afterwards completed under the more energetic protection of the Government.

No. 29.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 15, 1849.)

My Lord,

Florence, December 31, 1848.

I HAVE just received from M. Montanelli the note of which I herewith inclose a copy, informing me that the Grand Ducal Government have some reasons to apprehend an intervention of the Austrian army in the Tuscan and Roman States.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 29.

M. Montanelli to Sir George Hamilton.

M. le Ministre,

Florence, 30 Décembre, 1848.

JE ne dois pas m'abstenir de communiquer à votre Excellence avec toute la possible réserve, mais avec toute la diligence qui tient à la gravité de l'affaire, que le Gouvernement du Grand Duc a quelques raisons de douter qu'une

intervention de l'armée Antrichienne pourrait avoir lieu bientôt dans les Etats Toscans et dans ceux de Sa Sainteté. Vous comprenez certainement, Monsieur le Ministre, la cause de cette grave communication, et la nécessité de prendre toutes les mesures qui sont demandées par les événements.

Avec toute la confiance dans la généreuse sympathie que votre Excellence a toujours témoignée pour la Toscane, je saisis l'occasion, &c.

(Signed) G. MONTANELLI.

(Translation.)

M. le Ministre,

Florence, December 30, 1848.

I OUGHT not to abstain from communicating to your Excellency, with all the secrecy, but with all the diligence which suits such an affair, that the Government of the Grand Duke has some reasons to apprehend that an intervention of an Austrian army may shortly take place in the Tuscan territories and in those of His Holiness. You understand, certainly, M. le Ministre, the cause of this important communication, and the necessity for taking all measures which the events call for.

With entire confidence in the generous sympathy which your Excellency has always shown towards Tuscany, I avail myself, &c.

(Signed) G. MONTANELLI.

No. 30.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 15, 1849.)

My Lord,

Florence, December 31, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship Mr. Petre's despatch dated Rome, 29th December, informing me that the Giunta di Stato had closed the session of the Legislative Chambers.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 30.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Rome, December 29, 1848.

I HAVE the honour to report to you for the information of Viscount Palmerston, that the Giunta di Stato, on the representation of the Council of Ministers of the impossibility of assembling the two Councils in sufficient numbers to render their deliberations legal,—many members having either resigned or having declared that they would take no part in the calling of a Constituent Assembly of the Roman States in order to decide on the future form of Government, yesterday declared by message to the two Chambers the session closed.

The Finance Committee appointed by the Deputies is however to continue its sittings.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM PETRE.

No. 31.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 16.)

My Lord,

Milan, January 8, 1849.

THE fallacious tranquillity that existed for several weeks back has I regret to say given place lately to attempts at disturbance in many parts of the country, of which I shall do myself the honour to give your Lordship some particulars.

Within the last few days the town of Como was on the point of breaking out into open revolt, when two battalions of troops were immediately sent thither from this quarter, which with the garrison there succeeded in preserving order. The country town of Cantù in the Brianza has been placed under martial law, because the people left the church when the *Te Deum* for the Emperor began. In the town of Cremona the inhabitants instead of going to hear the *Te Deum*, went together in large numbers to the cemeteries outside the gates to pray for the dead, when on their way thither they were met by a body of troops, who forced them to retrace their steps. The town of Pavia has lately been placed in a state of siege, owing I understand to some quarrel between the soldiers and the citizens. At the country towns of Gorgonzola (Province of Milan) and Soresina (Province of Cremona) several of the rich farmers belonging to those places have been arrested and imprisoned in the Castle of Milan, while additional detachments of troops were quartered on the inhabitants of those places. In the town of Bergamo no one can go about the streets at night without a lantern, in consequence of some Austrian officers having been stabbed in the dark. In the town of Brescia six of the municipal body have been imprisoned. In the city of Milan the large military force keeps down any attempt at insurrection. There is a ferment in the minds of all the citizens, which might break out into acts of open violence against the Austrians, should it be necessary to weaken the garrison to any great extent.

Notwithstanding that his Excellency the Field-Marshal has ordered all the absentees from the Imperial and Royal States to re-enter them by the end of the present month, not a single rich or noble family, or any respectable individual, has obeyed. Many I am assured would return if the Proclamation of Recall had been differently worded; as it is, the want of confidence in the Government is such that the greater part of them I learn mean to remain voluntary exiles, even with the prospect of their property being sequestered.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 32.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 17.)

(Extract.)

Milan, January 10, 1849.

A CIRCULAR having been sent to the Provincial Delegates in the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, calling on them to cause the Provincial Congregations to choose each a representative to proceed to Vienna, I do myself the honour to inclose herewith for your Lordship's information, a translation of the circular addressed by the Minister Plenipotentiary here to the delegate of the Province of Milan.

Inclosure in No. 32.

Circular addressed to the Provincial Delegates in the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom.

(Translation.)

Milan, January 3, 1849.

THE Council of Ministers in Vienna have determined to call there a meeting of Deputies from all the Lombardo-Venetian Provinces, in order to profit by their advice as to the application to these provinces of the principles promulgated in the programme of the 27th November last, which in substance accords to the whole people of the monarchy those free institutions which are calculated to guarantee their nationality, preserving at the same time the integrity of the monarchy.

You, Signor Delegato, will immediately inform the Provincial College of the above, and request them to hold a formal meeting within eight days at latest, to proceed to elect an individual to be sent to Vienna in whom they have full confidence.

The Ministry, relying on the loyal sentiments of the Provincial Colleges, and in their zeal to co-operate by every means for the welfare of their country, leave them entirely free in the choice of the respective provincial representatives.

To enable the Electoral Colleges to understand the importance of the problems which the Ministry intend to solve with the assistance of the Deputies from these provinces, I shall here state those considerations which are to serve as a basis to the deliberations in question.

The first element of a free Government is based on communal franchises, which consist in the free management of their own affairs by means of their own Representatives freely chosen.

The Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, in conformity with the Sovereign Edict of February 12, 1816, enjoys a communal administration supported by liberal principles. It is intended to bring out these principles in their full vigour, to insure their practical execution, and to adapt them to the principles of the Austrian Monarchy, one and constitutional.

The communal franchises must be extended to all the hierarchy of the various relative constituencies; and the Provincial Colleges as well as the local constituencies shall be free to manage their internal affairs in order that these franchises may be executed within their own bounds without clashing with the interests of the State, and without encroaching on the rights of the other communes or the attributes of the superior constituencies.

The sphere of action of the superior communal constituencies extends over their respective territorial limits. Therefore the affairs that concern several communes or the whole province are within their jurisdiction; and to them belongs also the superintendence of the internal affairs of the communes, to the end that their measures may be always directed to the welfare of the people under them, and that their rights founded on the laws may not remain void of vigour.

In this manner the actual system of the Communal and Provincial Government is intended to be reformed and perfected, while the National Government for the internal interests of the provinces will remain guaranteed. Besides, these provinces by continuing to form an integral part of the monarchy, at the head of which will be placed a strong central power, they will contribute their share in the legislation of the State, thus strengthening the monarchy so as to form a compact body.

In the meantime I doubt not but this Provincial Congregation will hasten to proceed to the election of a Representative to be sent to Vienna, and that their choice will fall upon an individual fully qualified by capacity and knowledge, possessing at the same time probity combined with sincerity of principle; such an individual in fact as can render useful services to his country. The chosen Representative will set out for the capital of the empire towards the end of the present month and announce his arrival to the Minister of the Interior, Count Stadion.

At the request of the Representative the Provincial Congregation will grant him from the provincial revenue a sufficiency agreeably to the 6th class for travelling and daily expenses during his mission, paying him on account the sum of 300 florins.

You, Signor Delegato, will not lose a moment in informing me of the individual elected.

(Signed) MONTECUCOLI.

No. 33.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 16.)

(Extract.)

Paris, January 15, 1849.

SOME excitement has been prevalent in Paris during the last few days in consequence of the military and naval preparations making in the southern seaports.

I had some conversation with M. Drouyn de Lhuys on the subject, who explained that these steps were only taken in order to be in a certain stage of readiness, in case Austria should leave the French Government no alternative than either a joint interference in the affairs of the Roman States, or the independent intervention of her army in the North of Italy.

No. 34.

Sir Hamilton Seymour to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 16, 1849.)

(Extract.)

Lisbon, December 31, 1848.

VISCOUNT DE CASTRO called upon me yesterday three or four hours after the sailing of the packet, as he said for the purpose of giving me the earliest information of an overture made by the Spanish Government to that of Portugal respecting the expediency of a meeting or congress of the principal Roman Catholic States of Europe being held to consider the propriety of the measures to be taken by them on behalf of the head of their common religion.

Similar overtures, the Minister said, had been made by Spain to the Governments of Austria, France, Sardinia, Bavaria, Tuscany and Naples. He himself did not expect that the idea would lead to any great results, but felt that Portugal as a Catholic Power should not have the appearance of showing any backwardness in any scheme undertaken on behalf of the Head of the Roman Catholic Church. His Excellency finally desired to hear what I had to say upon the subject.

I told Viscount de Castro that it was difficult to express an extempore opinion upon an affair of great delicacy, but that it at once struck me that if nothing more was contemplated than that which met the ear, if it was only intended that the Roman Catholic States should make a demonstration in favour of their spiritual chief, those countries might be rendering the Pope a very bad service by drawing the very same distinction between his temporal and spiritual authority, which it appeared to be the wish of a large party in Rome and Italy to establish.

To this observation Viscount de Castro replied that it was of course impossible to separate the two descriptions of authority, and that it was desired that assistance should be rendered to both.

No. 35.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 17, 1849.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 7th instant, inclosing a proclamation addressed by Field-Marshal Radetzky to those inhabitants of Lombardy who have left their homes and have sought refuge in other countries, I have to observe that this proclamation seems at variance with the Emperor's amnesty, which declared pardon for all political offences committed during the Revolution; whereas this only seems to authorize the return of those who took no part in those transactions.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 36.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 16.)

(Extract.)

Turin, January 11, 1849.

YOUR Lordship will no doubt recollect that the 3rd of January of last year was marked at Milan by the massacre of several of the inhabitants of that town by the Austrian soldiers who were parading about the streets off duty.

The anniversary of that day, which has been observed by the Milanese as a day of mourning, was this year chosen by Field-Marshal Count Radetzky for proceeding in person, accompanied by his staff and a number of other officers, to hold in the Ridotto of the theatre of La Scala the examination of the female students of the Imperial and Royal School of Dancing, a formality which on previous occasions was usually gone through in the presence of the Director-General of Police, sometimes in that of the Governor of Milan.

It does not however appear to have been the custom for the Marshal to be present upon these occasions, and his having chosen to mark the return of a day the recollection of which could not fail to be most distressing to the Milanese, by giving to this ceremony the air of a fête, has created a very painful sensation amongst the inhabitants of Milan of all classes.

It cannot be wondered at that a people goaded on by every species of oppression and of insult as are the Lombards under their present arbitrary rule, should nurture in their hearts the feeling of hatred and of revolt, of which symptoms are again showing themselves in various parts of the Austrian-Italian provinces.

Your Lordship will see from the report of Mr. Vice-Consul Campbell the unsettled condition of the Lombard provinces; great ferment prevails in Milan, and the common people are beginning again to talk of erecting barricades.

But the overwhelming force of Austrian troops now in Milan no doubt are fully prepared against any surprise, and it is not likely that an imperfectly armed populace could make any impression upon them.

No. 37.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, January 18, 1849.

HER Majesty's Government would strongly recommend the Lombards and Venetians to found their proceedings upon the expectation that Austria will not, in the negotiations about to be opened, consent to relinquish any portion of her Italian territory, and that the mediating Powers will not contemplate the use of force to compel her to do so.

No. 38.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 19.)

My Lord,

Florence, January 8, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that one of the chief magistrates of the city of Parma has come to me from thence in order to say that great discontent prevails in Parma at the manner in which the Government of that duchy is conducted by the Austrian General.

He says that the rule of King Charles Albert would be preferred to the present Austrian domination, but the wish of the people in general is that the Duke of Parma should return amongst them, or that the Hereditary Princess of Parma should govern as Regent during the minority of her son.

I have not the means of judging whether the report made to me by the Podestà of Parma is entirely correct, but as the return of the Duke of Modena has in general been very satisfactory to the Modenese, a similar event may be wished for by the Parmese.

Some serious disturbances have lately taken place at Lucca, where the mob have endeavoured to proclaim Carlo Ludovico, their former Duke.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 39.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 19.)

My Lord,

Florence, January 10, 1849.

I HAVE received information from Rome that the Pope has excommunicated all persons who have taken any part in the late events.

The political clubs were endeavouring to excite the people and to throw ridicule on the Bull, which had not yet been published.

The people in the streets were crying out "Vivan gli Scommunicati!" and talk of burning the Pope's arms.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 40.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.

Sir,

Admiralty, January 19, 1849.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith for the information of Viscount Palmerston, copies of a letter from Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker, dated the 6th instant, and of its inclosures, from Commander Key, of Her Majesty's steam-vessel "Bulldog," containing the latest intelligence of affairs at Rome.

I am, &c.

(Signed) H. G. WARD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 40.

Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Hibernia," Naples, January 6, 1849.

I TRANSMIT herewith the copy of a letter which I have this day received from Commander A. C. Key, of Her Majesty's ship "Bulldog," containing the latest intelligence of affairs at Rome. I have submitted it for the consideration of Mr. Temple, Her Majesty's Minister at Naples.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. PARKER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 40.

Commander Key to Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker.

Sir,

Rome, January 3, 1849.

THE promulgation of the decree for the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, which I mentioned in my letter of December 30th, has developed a different feeling in the people of the provinces and the majority of the Romans, to that which I was then led to expect. The clamour which had been raised for its foundation appears to have emanated solely from the clubs in Rome and the provincial towns. The feeling now existing against the Constituent, though but little expressed in the provinces from want of union, and in Rome from fear of the troops, is not the less general, and is very evident from the sullenness with which it has been received, and the refusal to join in any rejoicings for its adoption.

Galletti and Camerata, the two remaining members of the Giunta, have withdrawn from the Government. Sterbini, who assisted with about 3000 troops, and may now be said to govern Rome, has vainly endeavoured to persuade the civic guard to join with them in any expression of approbation of the Constituent. It would appear impossible for Sterbini's Government to exist with such a majority against it, were it not for the support of the troops who take part with those who pay them; and although there is more than sufficient force either in the city or the provinces to overthrow the Government, had they the inclination, yet what advantage would accrue to them as a moderate party, from a step which might produce bloodshed, and would give the Pope a sufficient apparent excuse for taking any measures against them?

From this and from information obtained from various sources, it is my conviction that there still exists a nearly universal desire for the Pope's return, and that a very slight conciliatory disposition on his part would be responded to and met with favourable terms of accommodation by his subjects. They have attempted to make the first offer, and it was refused them. The people of Bologna and Ancona have already declared for him, and had the Romans any means of communication with His Holiness, by his removal to Civita Vecchia or otherwise, they would feel confident follow their example; but deprived of all power of making their wishes known by his refusal to receive them, and the absence of foreign Ministers, they can only await the time when His Holiness may see fit to ascertain their opinions, and meanwhile they feel it to be their duty to maintain the public tranquillity.

It appears undoubted that the troops would join any Government that has the power of paying them, and that in the full of the present Ministry they would adhere to their successors without a struggle.

May I then with deference offer, that if the wishes of the Romans could be conveyed to His Holiness the Pope, it might be the means of saving bloodshed in Rome and the preservation of the Pope's temporal power, without having recourse to foreign intervention.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. C. KEY.

No. 41.

The Hon. W. Temple to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 19.)

(Extract.)

Naples, December 30, 1848.

SINCE the arrival of the Pope at Gaeta, the King of Naples has passed the greater part of his time in that town, where he has fitted up an apartment, and resides with the Queen and the royal children.

The army is to be increased to 110,000 men, which is nearly double its previous amount, a great portion of which will be raised by conscription and the rest by voluntary enlistments. In order to facilitate the latter the certificates of good conduct formerly required for men entering the army will be dispensed with, and some of the recruits have been taken from among the convicts.

The Constitution is completely in abeyance. Several decrees have lately been published by the Ministers under the King's authority, without any reference having been made to the necessity of their receiving the sanction of the Chambers. Among these is a decree for raising 2000 horses and mules for the service of the cavalry and artillery, to replace those which were left behind or destroyed by the Neapolitan troops when they were driven out of Palermo. By this decree all persons possessed of more than two horses or mules are ordered to sell any which they may possess over that number to the Government at a valuation, but this decree has I hear been generally evaded.

It is believed to be the intention of the King to prorogue the Chambers, which were to meet on the 1st of February, to some more distant period.

The Government are issuing paper which will ultimately amount to 12,000,000 ducats, bearing interest at 5 per cent., which will enable them to go on for some time without raising additional taxes, and there is therefore no immediate necessity for calling together the Chambers for that purpose.

The Liberal party also view the approaching session with some alarm on account of the hostile feeling which animates the soldiery against them.

The Chambers gave offence to the army some time ago by some injudicious attacks which were made upon it by its members; and several members of the Liberal party have been warned that on the first appearance of tumult or popular excitement the soldiers will attack the Chambers and avail themselves of the opportunity for assaulting them. The danger may be exaggerated, but the conduct of the soldiers in attacking and wounding individuals in the streets has been such as in some measure to justify their apprehensions.

Complaints however became so numerous and were so well founded that at length the Government were obliged to take some measures to check the evil, and an order of the day was issued which has been attended with a beneficial effect; and a note was addressed to the Foreign Ministers of which I inclose a copy and translation.

Numerous robberies have also occurred unchecked by the police.

Inclosure in No. 41.

*Prince Cariatì to the Hon. W. Temple.**Napoli, 7 Dicembre, 1848.*

IL Sottoscritto, Ministro, &c., ha l'onore di far noto a sua Eccellenza il Signor Cavaliere Temple, Inviato, &c., de Sua Maestà Britannica, che parecchi reclami son pervenuti da qualche giorno a questo Real Ministero, relative a violenze esercitate in alcuni incontri dai soldati delle Regie truppe verso taluni forestieri appartenenti a Potenze amiche del nostro Real Governo.

Con quanto rincrescimento abbia dovuto il medesimo ricevere tali reclami potranno facilmente giudicarlo i Rappresentanti delle stesse Potenze qui residenti, ed attestare al tempo stesso i riguardi che sempre ed in ogni occasione si osser-

vano, e per essi e pei loro connazionali. Quindi il Governo di Sua Maestà ha preso le misure più energiche per richiamare le Regie truppe alla osservanza della più severa disciplina ove avessero per poco potuto deviarne, e di cui sono stati finora luminoso esempio, ed il Governo non dubita che le truppe sieno per corrispondere alle sue premure.

Ma il Sottoscritto non saprebbe astenersi in questa occasione dal far osservare al Signor Ministro, che lungi dall'essere stata le truppe in ogni incontro quella che ha prodotto le risse, a stata bene spesso provocata e talvolta anche con derisioni e motteggi, e che ad evitare ulteriori dispiacenze sarebbe utile che i Rappresentanti de' Governi esteri in Napoli facessero comprendere ai loro connazionali, che collo astenersi dall'immischiarsi negli attrupamenti prodotti sia de risse popolari, sia da altre cagioni, non somministrassero motivo di mancare a' riguardi loro dovuti ed eviteranno così al Real Governo il dispiacere di non potere sollecitamente applicare la legge ai colpevoli che la trasgrediscono, rimanendo essi per lo più ignoti malgrado tutte le indagini che si potessero praticare per ritrovarli.

Il Sottoscritto, &c.

(Firmato)

PCE. DI CARIATI.

(Translation.)

Naples, December 7, 1848.

THE Undersigned, &c., has the honour to inform his Excellency Mr. Temple, &c., that several complaints have during the last few days reached this office respecting assaults which have been committed on various occasions by the soldiers of the King's troops upon some foreigners subjects of friendly Powers.

The Representatives of those Powers who reside here will easily imagine the regret with which the Undersigned has received this information, and will at the same time bear testimony to the attention which always and on all occasions is paid both to themselves and to their countrymen; therefore the King's Government have adopted the most energetic measures to recall the troops to the observance of the strictest discipline of which they up to the present time have afforded a bright example, if they have for a moment deviated from it, and the Government does not doubt but that the troops will comply with its orders.

But the Undersigned cannot refrain from calling the attention of the Minister to the fact that so far from the troops having been on any occasion those who caused the affront, they have frequently been provoked, and sometimes even by mockery and insulting expressions, and that to avoid further unpleasant occurrences it would be well if the Representatives of foreign Powers residing in Naples should impress upon their countrymen that by abstaining from mixing themselves up in the assemblages produced either by popular quarrels or other causes, so as not to afford occasion for any want of proper respect towards them, they will spare the King's Government the sorrow of not being able quickly to punish the guilty parties who transgress the law, as they generally escape detection notwithstanding all the steps taken to discover them.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

PRINCE CARIATI.

No. 42.

The Hon. W. Temple to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 19.)

(Extract.)

Naples, January 5, 1849.

THE Pope is still residing at Gaeta, and is I understand waiting to know the result of his appeal to the Sovereigns of Europe, to whom he had written to communicate his departure from Rome and to request their assistance to

replace him in his capital and secure to him his independence as head of the Catholic Church.

It would be very desirable if the Pope could come to an understanding with his subjects without the aid of foreign intervention. The majority of the Roman people appear to be very anxious for his return, and would hail with pleasure the restoration of tranquillity and a more moderate Ministry to rule them.

It has been regretted that the Pope has not published a more satisfactory proclamation to his subjects, stating the reasons which obliged him to quit Rome and disclaiming all intention of withdrawing the institutions which he had given them, and offering to return if they would ensure him the means of maintaining his dignity and freedom of action and of securing him from the dictation of the mob.

It is thought that the Pope might establish himself at Civita Vecchia in his own territories under the protection of the steamers of friendly Governments and be as secure in the fortress there as at Gaeta. He would be able to communicate freely with those persons in whom he could place confidence, and possibly with the support of a portion of the Swiss troops who are at Bologna and of some of the other regiments who are well disposed to him, a Government might be formed capable of inspiring the people with confidence and of enabling the Pope to return to Rome with every prospect of security for the future.

General Zucchi and the Marchese Bevilacqua have joined the Pope from Bologna, but it does not appear that they have been able to combine any plan for his return, and it is to be feared that the counsels of those who are adverse to his going to Rome except by an armed intervention will prevent any active measures being taken towards a reconciliation between His Holiness and his subjects.

No. 43.

The Hon. W. Temple to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 19.)

My Lord,

Naples, January 6, 1849.

SINCE writing my despatch of the 5th instant Sir William Parker has communicated to me a despatch which he has received from Captain Key of Her Majesty's steam-vessel "Bulldog," dated from Rome on the 3rd instant, of which I inclose a copy* to your Lordship.

The view which Captain Key takes of the political feelings and the state of parties at Rome, and of the expediency of the Pope removing to Civita Vecchia, coincides very much with the opinions which I had the honour to submit to your Lordship. I fear however that it would be difficult to persuade the Pope to adopt the course recommended in Captain Key's despatch, and forego the hope of being reinstated in the plenitude of authority by the confederacy and assistance of the Catholic Powers.

The Governments may find some difficulty in coming to an agreement upon the choice of the troops to whom the restoration of the Pope to his capital and the care of his person are to be confided, and this difficulty may lead some of them to consider whether it might not be preferable that the Pope should return to Rome in compliance with the wishes of his subjects, than through the intervention of a foreign force.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. TEMPLE.

* See Inclosure 2 in No. 40, page 25.

No. 44.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 19.)

My Lord,

Turin, January 13, 1849.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 5th January of this year's series, instructing me to inquire of His Sardinian Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs when the Sardinian Plenipotentiary at the conferences about to be held at Brussels for the affairs of Northern Italy would be ready to proceed to his post, I have to report to you that I have been informed by the Abbé Gioberti, that His Sardinian Majesty having been pleased to appoint the Marquis Albert Ricci to be the Sardinian Representative at the conferences, the Marquis will leave Turin for Paris and Brussels to-morrow or Monday next.

The Commander Martini, Tuscan Minister at this Court, but charged by His Imperial and Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany to represent the interests of the Grand Duchy at the conferences at Brussels, left Turin last week on his way to the capital of Belgium.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 45.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 19.)

(Extract.)

Turin, January 13, 1849.

THE Abbé Gioberti called upon me yesterday and repeated to me with some greater detail the information which he had received with regard to a threatened armed Spanish intervention in favour of the Pope.

Although these details have not been officially confirmed to him, still the nature of the reports which he has received from the Sardinian Diplomatic Agents at Gaeta has been such as to induce him to give credence to them.

Your Lordship will find in the note which I received last night from the Abbé Gioberti, copy of which is herein inclosed, the substance of the information upon this subject which has reached him; and you will likewise observe that in this document the Sardinian Minister alludes to a communication which he had received from the Cabinet of Madrid relative to a proposal which the Spanish Government has addressed to the principal Catholic Governments of Europe for the regulation of the unfortunate differences existing between His Holiness the Pope and his subjects, and to the nature of the reply which the Government of His Sardinian Majesty had deemed it expedient to return to it.

Your Lordship will likewise find inclosed herewith copy of my answer to the Abbé Gioberti, which for obvious reasons is simply an acknowledgment of the receipt of his note, and an assurance that I would lose no time in communicating it to your Lordship, from whom I was convinced its contents would receive that mature consideration which they deserved.

I learn from other sources that His Holiness, when first the question of quitting Rome came under discussion, expressed a wish to retire to the Balcaric Islands, where he had resided for some time as a young man and where he was received into holy orders, but that this plan was afterwards abandoned. The idea which His Holiness had entertained may however in some degree account for the prominent part which Spanish diplomacy has taken at Gaeta, and the desire now shown by the Spanish Government to establish for Spain an interference in the political affairs of Italy, on the plea of protecting the spiritual authority of the Pope.

The prospect of a Spanish armed intervention, since the suspicion of such a possibility became known, has been regarded with anything but favour by the Italians, and the recollection of former Spanish occupations has by no means tended to make such an event acceptable to persons of any political colour.

It is not therefore to be wondered at that the Sardinian Government should have shown, as they have done by the communication which they have made to me, considerable jealousy with regard to the conduct of Spain in the present instance.

In my conversation with the Abbé Gioberti upon this subject I did not conceal from him that in my own opinion the introduction of this new element into questions connected with Italian affairs was extremely unfortunate and inopportune; and I could not but agree with him in thinking that it would be difficult so to disconnect the spiritual from the temporal concerns of His Holiness as to render conferences such as had been proposed by Spain possible without admitting foreign Powers, and consequently Austria, to take part in the discussions of the internal political affairs of Italy, a result which under existing circumstances could not evidently be willingly consented to by Sardinia.

Inclosure 1 in No. 45.

M. Gioberti to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Turin, le 12 Janvier, 1849.

LE Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne vient d'apprendre, toutefois d'une manière non encore officielle, qu'on attend sous peu dans le port de Gaète l'arrivée d'une flotille Espagnole, composée de sept bâtimens et ayant à bord 1000 hommes de troupes de débarquement.

Ces forces doivent être suivies, à un court espace de temps, d'un autre corps de 8000 hommes.

D'après les informations que le Gouvernement du Roi a reçues, cette expédition se rattacherait à l'exécution d'un projet d'intervention armée de l'Espagne en faveur de Pie IX.

Cependant Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne guidé, par ses sentimens de religieuse et profonde sympathie pour le Souverain Pontife, et par le vif désir de voir rétablir entre Sa Sainteté et le Gouvernement de Rome une harmonie si nécessaire dans l'intérêt de la Chrétienté et de la tranquillité, accueillant avec respect et empressement une marque de confiance dont il avait trouvé l'expression dans une lettre récente du Saint Père, a offert sa médiation entre Sa Sainteté et le Gouvernement de Rome pour atteindre ce double but.

D'un autre côté le Ministre d'Espagne à Turin a communiqué, il n'y a que quelques jours, au Cabinet du Roi une proposition que son Auguste Souveraine adressait en même temps aux principales Puissances Catholiques de l'Europe sur un moyen de régler ces fâcheux différends; et le Gouvernement du Roi y a répondu avec une confiance et une bonne foi dont sa note du 6 de ce mois peut offrir la preuve la plus honorable; il exprimait en toute franchise l'idée que sans présenter les graves inconvéniens qu'il indiquait, et que pouvait amener le projet de la Contr'Espagne, une médiation amicale et toute de conciliation des Puissances Catholiques, dont les Représentans se trouvaient à Gaète, obtiendrait également le résultat qu'on avait en vue.

Ainsi, avant que cette réponse et celle des autres Puissances consultées fussent parvenues à Madrid, le Gouvernement Espagnol, si la supposition dont il s'agit est vraie, s'écartant de tous les usages consacrés par les rapports internationaux, aurait pris la résolution d'intervenir. Ainsi, pendant que le Souverain Pontife lui-même faisait auprès du Roi des instances auxquelles Sa Majesté a répondu avec une si parfaite loyauté et avec l'expression de sentimens si dévoués, on aurait préféré l'intervention armée d'une Puissance étrangère aux offres empressées de médiation d'un Prince Italien, si intéressé lui-même à assurer pacifiquement le résultat fructueux de son entremise.

Dans cette supposition le Gouvernement du Roi ne pouvant se dissimuler que l'intervention armée d'une Puissance étrangère à l'Italie, dans les différends qui existent entre le Pape et le Gouvernement de Rome, ne pourrait qu'amener de graves désordres et de fâcheuses conséquences, non seulement pour les Etats Pontificaux, mais encore pour l'Italie tout entière, se croit en devoir d'appeler l'attention des Puissances étrangères sur les dangers dont un élément de plus ajouté à ces complications deviendrait la cause inévitable.

En même temps, et bien que le projet d'intervention dont il s'agit ne lui soit pas encore connu officiellement, le Soussigné, &c., en se fondant sur les graves considérations qu'il vient d'exposer, doit dès à présent protester de la manière la plus formelle auprès des Cabinets étrangers, contre une semblable intervention si elle doit avoir lieu.

Il prie en conséquence Mr. Abercromby, &c., de vouloir bien porter cette

communication à la connaissance de son Gouvernement, espérant avec la juste confiance qu'il place dans sa sagesse et sa bienveillance, qu'il appréciera les raisons qui ont porté le Gouvernement du Roi à cette détermination.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé) GIOBERTI.

(Translation.)

Turin, January 12, 1849.

THE Government of His Majesty the King of Sardinia has just learnt, but in a form not yet official, that a Spanish fleet is shortly expected to arrive in the port of Gaeta, composed of seven vessels, and having on board 1000 troops.

This force is to be followed after a short interval of time by another corps of 8000 men.

According to the information which His Majesty's Government has received, this expedition is connected with the carrying out of a project for the armed intervention of Spain in favour of Pius IX.

In the meantime, His Majesty the King of Sardinia, guided by his feelings of deep and religious sympathy for the Sovereign Pontiff, and by a strong desire to see re-established between His Holiness and the Government of Rome a state of harmony so necessary for the interests of Christianity and of peace, receiving also with respect and with zeal a mark of confidence expressed to him in a late letter from the Holy Father, has offered his mediation between His Holiness and the Government of Rome towards accomplishing that object.

On the other hand, the Spanish Minister at Turin has communicated, only a few days ago, to the Cabinet of the King, a proposal which his August Sovereign was at the same time addressing to the principal Catholic Powers of Europe, respecting a means of arranging these lamentable differences; and the King's Government has replied thereto with a confidence and good faith of which its note of the 6th instant may offer a most honourable proof. It expressed frankly the idea that without offering the serious inconveniences which it pointed out, and which the plan of the Spanish Court might occasion, a friendly and entirely conciliatory mediation of the Catholic Powers, whose Representatives were at Gaeta, would equally obtain the result which they had in view.

Thus, before this answer and that of the other Powers who were consulted reached Madrid, the Spanish Government, if the supposition in question be true, departing from all the usages established in international relations, has resolved to intervene; and thus, whilst the Sovereign Pontiff himself was making requests to His Majesty, which His Majesty has replied to with perfect frankness, and with the expression of such devoted sentiments, the armed intervention of a foreign Power has been preferred to the zealous offers of mediation made by an Italian Prince, who is himself so much interested in securing by peaceful means the successful result of his intervention.

Under this supposition the King's Government, not being able to conceal from itself that the armed intervention of a Power foreign to Italy, in the differences which exist between the Pope and the Government of Rome, could only bring about grave disorders and disastrous consequences, not only in the Pontifical States, but also throughout the whole of Italy, considers it to be its duty to call the attention of foreign Powers to the dangers of which one further element added to existing complications would be the inevitable cause.

At the same time, and even though the plan of intervention now in question is not yet officially made known to him, the Undersigned, &c., resting the important considerations which he has just stated, must from the present moment protest in the most formal manner to foreign Cabinets against such an intervention, if it is to take place.

He consequently requests Mr. Ahereromby to be so good as to bring this communication to the knowledge of his Government, trusting, with the just confidence which he reposes in its wisdom and kind intentions, that it will appreciate the reasons which have led the King's Government to this determination.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) GIOBERTI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 45.

*The Hon. R. Abercromby to M. Gioberti.**Turin, January 13, 1849.*

THE Undersigned, &c. had last night the honour to receive the note of the 12th instant, which M. Gioberti, &c. addressed to him, communicating the information, although not yet officially confirmed, of the expected arrival at Gaeta of a Spanish flotilla composed of seven ships having on board 1000 Spanish troops for disembarkation, which flotilla is speedily to be followed by another carrying an additional force of 8000 Spanish soldiers; and that this expedition has reference to a projected armed intervention on the part of Spain in favour of His Holiness Pope Pius IX.

The Undersigned also finds mention in the note of M. Gioberti above alluded to, of the communication which the Cabinet of Madrid has made to that of Turin relative to a proposal which Spain has addressed to the principal Catholic Powers of Europe for the purpose of regulating the unfortunate differences existing between His Holiness and his subjects; and of the nature of the answer which the Government of His Sardinian Majesty have deemed it expedient to make to that proposal.

The Undersigned, duly sensible of the great importance of the subjects referred to in the note which he has received from the Government of His Sardinian Majesty, will not delay a moment in transmitting this document to his Government for their information; and he can at once confidently assure M. Gioberti that its contents will meet with that mature consideration on the part of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty which they so fully deserve.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 46.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 19.)

(Extract.)

Turin, January 13, 1849.

IT having come to my knowledge that a correspondence had taken place between the Abbé Gioberti and M. Bertran de Lis, the Spanish Minister at this Court, which had reference to the present position of His Holiness the Pope and to the condition of public affairs at Rome.

I asked the Abbé Gioberti whether the information I had received was correct, and if so what was the nature of that correspondence.

The Abbé Gioberti replied that I was quite right in my suppositions, and he at once proceeded to explain to me the substance of the Spanish communication and the reply which he had made to it.

On his terminating his explanations I observed that it would be extremely advantageous if he would furnish me with copies of those documents, in order that I might transmit them to your Lordship.

The Abbé Gioberti willingly agreed to my proposal, and in the evening transmitted to me the notes of the Sardinian and Spanish Governments, copies of which I have herewith the honour to forward to your Lordship.

Inclosure 1 in No. 46.

M. Gioberti to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Monsieur,

Turin, le 12 Janvier, 1849.

SELON le désir que vous m'avez témoigné j'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer des copies de la communication que m'a faite le Ministre d'Espagne relativement à la question de Rome, et de la réponse que j'y ai faite en date du 6 de ce mois.

Je saisis, &c.

(Signé)

GIOBERTI.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Turin, January 12, 1849.

AGREEABLY to the desire which you have expressed to me, I have the honour to send you copies of the communication which the Minister of Spain has addressed to me relative to the question of Rome, and of the answer which I returned to it under date of the 6th of this month.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) GIOBERTI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 46.

M. Pidal to M. Bertran de Lis.

Excellence,

Madrid, le 21 Décembre, 1848.

L'ETAT lamentable dans lequel se trouve le Chef de l'Eglise, fugitif de ses Etats, et réduit à accepter l'asile d'une Puissance étrangère, oblige le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté à penser sérieusement aux moyens d'éviter les maux graves qui menacent la Chrétienté, si l'on ne met pas un terme aux tribulations qui affligent le Souverain Pontife.

Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté, qui avait prévu depuis longtemps la possibilité de semblables conflits, a pu, dès que ceux-ci sont survenus, offrir au Saint Père, au moyen de son Ambassadeur, l'appui le plus cordial de l'Espagne, et il est disposé à offrir au Pape tout ce qui serait considéré comme nécessaire pour que le Chef visible de l'Eglise soit restitué à l'état de liberté, d'indépendance et de dignité que réclame impérieusement l'exercice de ses fonctions sacrées.

Pour cette raison, à peine eût-il appris que le Pape s'était vu forcé de fuir Rome, il s'adressa au Gouvernement Français, qui venait de se montrer si disposé à favoriser la liberté de Sa Sainteté, lui proposant que les deux Cabinets se missent d'accord en ce qui regarderait la dignité du Chef de l'Eglise, comme dans une affaire d'intérêt commun pour les deux pays. Mais cette négociation, qui ne tendait qu'à prévenir les difficultés qui pourraient surgir touchant les dispositions du moment que les deux Gouvernements jugeraient convenable d'adopter, doit aujourd'hui être considérée comme insuffisante, vu la direction que prennent les affaires dans la capitale des Etats Pontificaux.

Il ne s'agit plus maintenant de sauver la liberté du Pape menacée par les égarements de ses propres sujets; ceci, que l'on pourrait considérer comme la question du moment, est en quelque sorte terminée par le départ de Sa Sainteté; mais outre cette question il s'en présente une autre de non moins grande importance, et dans laquelle sont également intéressés tous les Gouvernements Catholiques, celle d'assurer d'une manière stable et permanente la suprême autorité du Pontife, la mettant à l'abri non seulement de toute violence réelle et effective, mais encore des apparences de coaction qui peuvent être aussi funestes pour la cause de l'Eglise que pour la paix des peuples.

Votre Excellence connaît parfaitement combien les Gouvernements de toutes les nations Catholiques ont toujours été jaloux d'assurer au Chef de l'Eglise une position vraiment indépendante. L'organisation même des Etats Pontificaux, qu'ont respectée tant de siècles, est une preuve irréfutable de cette vérité, puisque les nations Catholiques se constituèrent toujours garantes de la Souveraineté temporelle du Pape, pour qu'on ne puisse pas même soupçonner l'influence des pouvoirs étrangers dans la suprême autorité spirituelle qu'il exerce sur tous les peuples Catholiques. Cette situation, née de la nature même des relations qui existaient entre le Vicaire de Jésus Christ et les peuples Catholiques, et qui a été respectée même par des Gouvernements de croyances différentes, est d'un intérêt si vital pour toute la Chrétienté, qu'elle ne peut rester à la merci d'une partie aussi petite du monde Catholique que les Etats Pontificaux.

L'Espagne ne prétend pas se mêler de la politique intérieure de ces Etats, mais elle juge que ni elle ni les autres pays Catholiques ne doivent consentir à ce que la liberté du Chef de l'Eglise universelle, et le respect dû à sa personne sacrée restent à la discrétion de la ville de Rome, et que, tandis que toutes les nations Catholiques s'empressent d'offrir au Pape l'hommage de leur profonde

vénération et respect, une seule ville d'Italie ose outrager sa dignité, réduisant le Pontife à un état de dépendance telle qu'il pourrait finir un jour par l'abus de son autorité religieuse elle-même.

Ces considérations ont tant de poids dans l'esprit du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté qu'elles l'ont décidé à inviter les autres nations Catholiques à se mettre d'accord sur le moyen d'éviter les maux qui nécessairement arriveront si les choses continuent dans l'état lamentable où elles se trouvent.

L'intérêt qui fait agir l'Espagne dans cette affaire n'est pas exclusivement Espagnol mais de toutes les nations Catholiques, dans lesquelles l'état incertain et précaire du Saint Père ne peut manquer d'amener le trouble dans les consciences et le désordre entre les peuples; par conséquent, si, comme il faut l'espérer, ces Puissances se trouvaient animées des mêmes sentimens, il serait d'une grande importance que toutes réunissent leurs efforts et qu'il fût rendu évident au monde que l'objet de ces conférences est purement religieux. Pour qu'un but aussi louable puisse être atteint, le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté a décidé de s'adresser à ceux de France, d'Autriche, de Portugal, de Bavière, de Sardaigne, de Toscane, et de Naples, au moyen de ses Représentans dans les Cours respectives, les invitant à nommer leurs Plénipotentiaires et à désigner en même temps le lieu qu'ils jugeraient le plus convenable pour les réunions.

Dans le but d'éviter les retards qui pourraient naître de la désignation du lieu des conférences, le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté s'empresse d'indiquer cette capitale, ou quelconque des villes Espagnoles du littoral de la Méditerranée, aussi bien à cause de la facilité et des avantages de sa position que de la tranquillité dont on jouit dans la Péninsule, et pareeque, comme il s'agit d'une affaire purement Catholique, l'Espagne ne doit pas paraître un lieu peu convenable pour de semblables conférences. Ceci, qui ne doit être considéré que comme une simple indication, ne veut pas dire que le Gouvernement Espagnol ne soit pas disposé à envoyer son Plénipotentiaire à quelque autre endroit que les Puissances intéressées jugeraient à propos de désigner. En conséquence je charge votre Excellence par ordre de la Reine notre Souveraine, de la même manière que je le fais pour les autres Représentans de Sa Majesté près des Cours indiquées, de s'aboucher avec le Gouvernement Sarde, et de tâcher de l'incliner à adopter la mesure proposée dans cette dépêche, dont votre Excellence pourra laisser une copie à M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sardaigne, l'assurant, au nom du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté, que la pensée purement religieuse qui a porté l'Espagne à faire cette démarche, non seulement ne renferme aucune idée d'intervenir dans la politique intérieure de l'Etat Pontifical, mais que la conférence diplomatique qu'on désire tenir devra s'occuper uniquement et exclusivement d'assurer la liberté et l'indépendance du Pape, sans confondre cette question si grave et transcendante avec d'autres d'un caractère très différent, ni la faire dépendre de celles qui s'agissent actuellement autant dans l'Italie Méridionale que dans la Septentrionale.

(Signé) T. PIDAL.

(Translation.)

Excellency,

Madrid, December 21, 1848.

THE deplorable position in which the Head of the Church is placed, a fugitive from his own States, and reduced to accept shelter from a foreign Power, compels Her Majesty's Government to think seriously of the means of avoiding the very great evils which threaten Christendom if an end is not put to the troubles which afflict the Sovereign Pontiff.

Her Majesty's Government which had for a long time foreseen the possibility of such disturbances, was able, as soon as they actually occurred, to offer to the Holy Father, through its Ambassador, the most cordial support of Spain, and it is willing to offer to the Pope anything which may be considered necessary to restore the visible Head of the Church to that state of freedom, of independence, and of dignity, which the exercise of his sacred functions imperatively requires.

For that reason, immediately on learning that the Pope had been obliged to fly from Rome, it addressed itself to the French Government which had just shown itself so ready to effect His Holiness' liberty, and proposed to it that the two Cabinets should come to an agreement upon what concerned the dignity of

the Head of the Church as upon an affair of common interest for both countries. But this negotiation, which only tended to provide against the difficulties which might arise as to the measures which the two Governments might consider it expedient to adopt for the moment, must now be considered as insufficient, in consequence of the direction which affairs are taking in the capital of the Pontifical States.

The question is now no longer to secure the Pope's freedom, threatened by the faults of his own subjects—this, which might be considered the question of the moment, is in some measure terminated by the departure of His Holiness: but besides that question there is another of no less importance, and one in which all Catholic Governments are equally interested, that of securing in a stable and permanent manner the supreme authority of the Pontiff, of sheltering him not only from real and positive violence, but also from the appearance of coercion, which may be as fatal for the cause of the Church as for the peace of nations.

Your Excellency knows perfectly well how anxious the Governments of Catholic nations have always been to secure for the Head of the Church a really independent position. The very organization of the Papal States, which has been respected for so many centuries, is an incontrovertible proof of this fact, since the Catholic nations have always constituted themselves the defenders of the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, in order that the influence of foreign Powers in the supreme spiritual authority which he exercises over all Catholic nations, might not even be suspected. This situation, arising out of the very character of the relations which existed between the Vicar of Jesus Christ and Catholic nations, and which has been respected even by Governments of different creeds, is of such vital interest for all Christendom, that it cannot remain at the mercy of so small a portion of the Catholic world as the Pontifical States.

Spain does not assume to interfere in the internal policy of those States; but she considers that neither she herself nor the other Catholic countries ought to assent to the freedom of the Head of the Universal Church and the respect due to his holy person remaining at the discretion of the city of Rome; and that whilst all Catholic nations are hastening to offer to the Pope the homage of their profoundest veneration and respect, one solitary town of Italy should dare to outrage his dignity by reducing the Pope to a state of dependence such as may one day terminate in the contempt of his religious authority itself.

These considerations have so much weight in the minds of Her Majesty's Government, that they have determined to invite all the other Catholic nations to come to an agreement as to the means of averting the evils which will of necessity arise, if things remain in the lamentable state in which they are at present.

The interest which moves Spain to act in this affair is not exclusively Spanish, but that of all Catholic nations, in which the precarious and uncertain position of the Holy Father cannot fail to bring trouble to consciences and disorders among the people; consequently, if, as is to be hoped, those Powers should be imbued with the same sentiments, it would be of the highest importance that they should all unite their efforts, and that it should be made evident to the world that the object of those conferences is purely religious. In order that so praiseworthy an object may be attained, Her Majesty's Government has decided to address itself to those of France, Austria, Portugal, Bavaria, Sardinia, Tuscany, and Naples, through its Representatives at the respective Courts, inviting them to name their Plenipotentiaries and to fix at the same time upon the place which they may judge most expedient for the conferences.

With a view to avoid the delays which might arise from the choice of the place of meeting, Her Majesty's Government hastens to propose this capital or some one of the Spanish towns on the shores of the Mediterranean, as well on account of the facility and of the advantages of their position, as on that of the tranquillity which is enjoyed in the Peninsula, and because, as the matter in question is essentially Catholic, Spain cannot seem a place ill suited for such conferences. This, which is only to be considered as a mere suggestion, does not mean that the Spanish Government would not be ready to send its Plenipotentiary to any other place which the Powers interested might think fit to appoint. Consequently I have to instruct your Excellency, by order of the Queen our Sovereign, in the same manner as I have instructed all the other Representatives of Her Majesty at the Courts above mentioned, to confer with

the Sardinian Government, and to endeavour to persuade it to adopt the measures proposed in this despatch, of which your Excellency may leave a copy with the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sardinia, assuring him in the name of Her Majesty's Government, that the purely religious motive which has prompted Spain to take this step not only conceals no idea of interfering in the internal politics of the Pontifical State, but that the diplomatic conference which it is wished to hold ought to employ itself solely and exclusively in securing the freedom and independence of the Pope, without mixing up that serious and all-absorbing question with others of a very different character, and without making it depend upon those questions which are now in agitation in Southern as well as in Northern Italy.

(Signed) T. 'PIDAL.

Inclosure 3 in No. 46.

M. Gioberti to M. Bertran de Lis.

Monsieur,

Turin, le 6 Janvier, 1849.

J'AI lu avec attention la dépêche très intéressante, sous la date du 21 Décembre dernier, que le Cabinet de Madrid vous a chargé, Monsieur, de communiquer au Gouvernement de Sardaigne, pour lui proposer un moyen de faire cesser la situation extrêmement lamentable où le Souverain Pontife se trouve.

J'ai observé qu'un pareil office a été aussi adressé aux Cabinets de France, d'Autriche, de Portugal, de Bavière, de Toscane, et de Naples. Le Gouvernement Espagnol par un effet des sentimens religieux qui l'animent envers le Chef de la Chrétienté, sentimens dignes d'une nation éminemment Catholique, aurait projeté d'ouvrir entre les Représentans des Puissances Catholiques sus-indiquées un congrès en Espagne ou ailleurs, pour traiter des moyens propres à amener le plus tôt possible une réconciliation entre le Pontife et ses sujets, afin que le Saint Père pût rentrer dans le libre exercice de tous ses droits spirituels, et jouir de l'indépendance qui lui est nécessaire pour le gouvernement de l'Eglise. Je me suis fait un devoir de soumettre cet important document au Roi mon auguste Souverain, et ensuite de le porter à la connaissance du Ministère.

Sa Majesté, à peine a-t-elle appris les malheureux événemens de Rome, s'empressa d'exprimer au Pape toute la part qu'elle prenait à sa grande affliction, et elle n'a cessé de lui témoigner de toute manière son plus vif intérêt pour atteindre précisément le même but que le Gouvernement de Madrid vient de proposer.

Le Roi et son Gouvernement, animés envers Sa Sainteté du même esprit d'une profonde vénération dont est animé le Cabinet de Madrid, s'estimeraient par conséquent infiniment heureux de pouvoir entrer dans les conférences proposées par l'Espagne, et de se voir par là à même de coopérer, par le concours de tous les moyens qui sont à leur disposition, au grand résultat qu'ils ne désirent pas moins ardemment que tout autre Prince et tout autre Gouvernement Catholique. Le Cabinet Espagnol assure que dans un tel Congrès on s'occuperait uniquement de la question religieuse, abstraction faite de la politique intérieure des Etats Pontificaux. Mais le Ministère de Sardaigne, tout en appréciant l'idée vraiment religieuse de celui de Madrid, doit cependant observer qu'il ne lui paraît pas probable que dans une réunion de Plénipotentiaires de toutes les Puissances sus-énoncées, on puisse séparer les affaires religieuses des politiques, si l'on considère que c'est par des causes politiques que le Pape quitta Rome, et que par conséquent la voie de son retour parmi ses sujets se trouve toute hérissée de difficultés politiques qu'il faudrait nécessairement aplanir.

La question temporelle se trouve étroitement liée avec la spirituelle, et l'une mêlée avec l'autre, et comme dans la discussion l'on ne pourrait point séparer les droits spirituels sans toucher aux temporels du Pape, on se verrait par conséquent forcé de traiter à la fois les deux questions dans le même congrès, ce qui serait en opposition directe aux vues des Puissances Italiennes. D'ailleurs parmi les Gouvernemens invités à envoyer des Plénipotentiaires aux conférences, on y voit aussi celui d'Autriche; or, il n'y a pas de doute que les Etats de la

Péninsule Italienne n'admettraient point dans ce moment l'intervention de l'Autriche dans une telle réunion, même lorsque les négociations pourraient être restreintes à l'article spirituel totalement isolé du temporel.

A ces considérations il faut encore ajouter que dans les circonstances où se trouvent en général les esprits en Italie, et par là dans les Etats Pontificaux, une intervention des Puissances étrangères sus-indiquées indisposerait beaucoup les sujets du Pape, et les éloignerait de lui, de manière que, en supposant que même par ce moyen on obtint une réconciliation entre eux, elle aurait je ne sais quoi de violent, et ne pourrait que trop ne pas être stable et d'une longue durée; elle manquerait son but, et finirait par rejaillir même au préjudice de la religion.

Le Cabinet du Roi, en faisant néanmoins bien des éloges aux idées qui ont conseillé à la haute piété de Sa Majesté la Reine d'Espagne et à son digne Gouvernement le projet qui lui a été adressé, semait d'avis de faire d'accord tous les efforts pour atteindre d'une autre manière le même but si désirable pour le bien de la religion.

Cette autre manière consisterait à agir directement auprès du Souverain Pontife pour le persuader de retourner à Rome, et l'engager à faire observer par son exemple les lois constitutionnelles qu'il a données à ses peuples. Et dans le concours des offices que les Diplomates des différentes Cours Catholiques croiraient employer à cet important objet, on devrait soigneusement éviter toute sorte d'éclat, de publicité, et particulièrement tout ce qui aurait l'apparence d'une espèce de contrainte quelconque. Il serait enfin vivement à désirer que ces mêmes Gouvernemens Catholiques envoyassent à Rome des personnes prudentes qui inspirassent de la force au parti modéré pour empêcher qu'on n'en vienne à une rupture définitive avec le Pontife. Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté croit que celle-ci serait la seule manière d'arranger les affaires dans l'intérêt du Saint Père, de la religion, et des Etats Pontificaux; c'est dans ce sens qu'il a déjà donné ses instructions aux Représentans du Roi à Gaète et à Rome.

J'aime à espérer que le Cabinet Espagnol voudra bien se persuader que cette réponse a été dictée par les mêmes sentimens qui ont inspiré l'excellente idée à laquelle tend le projet qui m'a été communiqué. Dans cette pleine confiance je saisis cette occasion, &c.

(Signé) GIOBERTI.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Turin, January 6, 1849.

I HAVE attentively read the very interesting despatch under date of the 21st of December last, which the Cabinet of Madrid instructed you, Sir, to communicate to the Government of Sardinia, in order to propose to it a means of putting an end to the extremely lamentable position in which the Sovereign Pontiff is placed.

I have observed that a similar communication has been made to the Cabinets of France, Austria, Portugal, Bavaria, Tuscany, and Naples. The Spanish Government, actuated by the religious feelings with which it is animated towards the Head of Christendom,—feelings worthy of a nation eminently Catholic,—proposes to open among the Representatives of the above-named Catholic Powers a congress in Spain or elsewhere, in order to discuss the means proper for bringing about as soon as possible a reconciliation between the Pontiff and his subjects, so that the Holy Father may enter again upon the free exercise of all his spiritual rights, and enjoy the independence which is necessary for him in the government of the Church. I made it my duty to submit this important document to the King, my august Sovereign, and then to bring it under the notice of the Ministry.

His Majesty had scarcely learnt the unfortunate occurrence at Rome before he hastened to express to the Pope all the concern which he felt for his great affliction, and he has not ceased showing him in every way his most lively desire to attain precisely the same end which the Government of Madrid has just designated.

The King and his Government, animated towards His Holiness with the same spirit of profound veneration which animates the Cabinet of Madrid, would consequently deem themselves infinitely fortunate in being able to enter into the conferences proposed by Spain, and thus to find itself in a position to co-operate, by the employment of all the means at its disposal, in the great result which they desire no less ardently than any other Catholic Prince or any other Catholic Govern-

ment. The Spanish Cabinet declares that such congress would occupy itself solely with the religious question, setting aside the internal policy of the Pontifical States. But the Ministry of Sardinia, whilst thoroughly appreciating the really religious idea of that of Madrid, must at the same time remark that it does not seem probable that in an assemblage of Plenipotentiaries of all the above-cited Powers, religious matters could be separated from political matters, when it is considered that it was on account of political motives that the Pope quitted Rome, and that consequently the pathway of his return is beset with political difficulties which it would be absolutely necessary to smooth away.

The temporal question is closely connected with the spiritual question, and the one is mixed up with the other; and as in the discussion the religious rights of the Pope could not be separated from his temporal rights, it would be compulsory to discuss the two questions at the same time and in the same congress, which would be in direct opposition to the views of the Italian Powers. Besides, among the Governments invited to send Plenipotentiaries to the conferences, Austria also appears. Now there is no doubt that the States of the Italian Peninsula would not at this present time admit the interference of Austria in such an assembly, even could the negotiations be confined to spiritual, to the entire exclusion of temporal points.

To these considerations must be further added, that in the state in which men's minds generally speaking now are in Italy, and therefore in the Pontifical States, an intervention of the above-mentioned foreign Powers, would greatly indispose the subjects of the Pope, and would alienate them from him; so that even supposing that by such means a reconciliation were to take place between them, it would be of a somewhat violent character, and would only too certainly not be stable or of long duration; it would fail in its object, and would in the end turn out to the detriment of religion.

The King's Cabinet, however, while highly appreciating the feelings which have suggested to the eminent piety of Her Majesty the Queen of Spain and to her worthy Government the project which has been addressed to it, would suggest that they should make in common every effort to attain through other means an object so desirable for the welfare of religion.

Those other means would consist in treating directly with the Sovereign Pontiff to persuade him to return to Rome, and to persuade him to enforce by his own example the observance of the constitutional laws which he has given to his people. And in the concurrence of the good offices which the diplomatic officers of the different Catholic Courts might think fit to employ in this important matter, the greatest care should be taken to avoid any kind of display and publicity, and more especially anything which might have the appearance of any kind of coercion whatever. Finally, it would be greatly to be desired that those same Catholic Governments should send to Rome prudent persons who should inspire the moderate party with a feeling of strength, and prevent a definitive rupture being come to with the Pontiff. His Majesty's Government considers that this would be the only way of settling matters in the interest of the Holy Father, of religion, and of the Pontifical States; it is in that sense that it has already given its instructions to the Representatives of the King at Gaeta and at Rome.

I venture to hope that the Spanish Government will feel assured that this reply has been prompted by the same sentiments which dictated the excellent idea to which the proposal which was communicated to me tends. In that full confidence I avail, &c.

(Signed) GIOBERTI.

No. 47.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 19.)

(Extract.)

Turin, January 13, 1849.

IN consequence of the difficulty of communicating at this season with sufficient expedition the necessary orders for the convocation of the Electoral Colleges for the general election in the distant districts of the Duchy of Savoy and of the Island of Sardinia, the day of election for Deputies to serve in the Sardinian Parliament has been postponed from the 15th to the 22nd instant,

and the meeting of the Chambers has been equally delayed from the 23rd instant to the 1st of February next.

I have not heard that the Government have succeeded in obtaining any pecuniary assistance from foreign capitalists, it is therefore inevitable that the funds required to maintain the present defensive attitude against Austria will have to be raised within the country.

No. 48.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 20.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, January 15, 1849.

PRINCE SCHWARZENBERG has desired me to inform your Lordship that Count Colloredo will proceed to London as soon as possible.

No. 49.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 20.)

My Lord,

Vienna, January 15, 1849.

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs in reply to my inquiries when the Austrian Plenipotentiary would go to Brussels, said that delay had been occasioned by the want of information here respecting the exact composition of the conferences to be held at Brussels. He has seen in the official Gazette of Florence that the Grand Duke of Tuscany had named M Martini to be a member. The Prince said the Imperial Government is ready to send a Plenipotentiary to co-operate with the Plenipotentiaries of England and France, as mediators for establishing peace between Austria and Sardinia, but not for any other purpose. That if the affairs of Italy generally are to be in question at any time it can only be in a conference of the Five Powers.

I replied that I had not any ground for thinking that your Lordship had consented to the admission of the Tuscan Plenipotentiary to be one of the Conference.

I have no reason to doubt of the immediate nomination of a Plenipotentiary by the Austrian Government, whenever the fact of the Conference being formed, and proposals by the mediating Powers shall be made known to the Government here.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 50.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 22.)

My Lord,

Vienna, January 16, 1849.

PRINCE SCHWARZENBERG spoke to me respecting the affairs of Rome. He recapitulated the main facts of the situation of the Pope and said that as the supreme Head of the Catholic Church his position was one of the highest interest to Catholics; that it was much to be desired that the Pope should be re-established in Rome; that the Pope had addressed letters to the Catholic Sovereigns and Governments expressing his feelings and desires; that in consequence the Imperial Government had made a communication to the French Government and to the Neapolitan Government, having for its object the formation of a conjoint exertion of the influence of the three Powers, and even of some employment of stronger means for the restoration of His Holiness; that the Austrian Government had not any notion whatever of taking any such part unless in conjunction with the other Powers above named; and the Prince added that his opinion is, that the declaration of the three Powers of their intention to interpose would be sufficient without any act done to bring about the restoration of the Pope to his authority and rights.

I mentioned some time ago to your Lordship the existence of such a notion, and I said that there would not be any intervention by Austria alone.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 51.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 22.)

My Lord,

Vienna, January 16, 1849.

COUNT COLLOREDO called on me this morning and informed me that he is quite ready to set out for London the moment he receives instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 52.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 22.)

My Lord,

Florence, January 11, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a copy and translation of the speech delivered yesterday by the Grand Duke on opening the Legislative Chambers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 52.

Speech of the Grand Duke of Tuscany at the opening of the Legislative Chambers, January 10, 1849.

Signori Senatori, Signori Deputati,

SE gravi furono i tempi nei quali ebbi per la prima volta l'onore di aprire il Parlamento Toscano, e pieni di ansietà e di speranza, gravissimi poi mi sembrano quelli che la Provvidenza ci para adesso dinanzi e ingombri di bene altre ansietà, di necessità supreme, di dolore sofferto, e di speranze avvenire.

Quindi io mi compiaccio avere di nuovo consultato il paese, e raccolto per la seconda volta un Parlamento, il quale voglia e sappia assumere virtù pari ai tempi.

L'ordine interno dello Stato comunque mantenuto tranquillo assai più che le quotidiane commozioni dei popoli non lasciavano presagire, abbisogna di provvedimenti vigorosi e duraturi.

Le Leggi dei Municipii, quelle di Polizia, il perfezionamento della Guardia Civica, decoro di Libertà, tutela alla Civiltà, e l'ordinamento della Guardia Municipale rispettata come una Magistratura, operosa come una Milizia hanno a cessare essere un desiderio per diventare realtà. Conto sopra lo egregio volere di tutti voi, onorandi Senatori e Deputati, per conseguire sollecitamente un tanto scopo.

La Finanza angustiata domanda non meno pronte providenze. I generosi Toscani già corrisposero alla chiamata, e porgono motivo a sperare che non si rimarranno dal sovvenirla. Lo sbilancio dipende in parte dagli ordinamenti nuovi imposti dalle forme mutate di governo, e in parte dai bisogni della guerra, imperciocchè, onorevoli Senatori e Deputati, vorrete voi deporre le armi, finchè la Italia nostra non possieda pace onorata? Nelle misure, che il mio Governo vi proporrà immediatamente per sovvenire alle strettissime urgenze della pecunia, pregovi considerare non quello che è bene in tempi tranquilli, ma sì quanto è meno tristo in tempi difficilissimi.

Daremo opera insieme alla formazione dei Codici, in ispecial modo di quello di Procedura Civile, onde il mezzo per riparare la offesa non torni più dannoso assai della offesa medesima.

Coltivare fra le commozioni della guerra gli studii geniali, e le discipline gentili è ardua cosa, e nonostante noi non olieremo mai come le arti belle fossero nostro vanto nei giorni della sventura, e la umane lettere nudrimento vitale di tutta virtù, per lo che, se non ci venisse dato fare quanto vorremmo,

prepareremo miglioramenti in ogni maniera di pubblica istruzione e in parte ancora attueremo.

Nella guerra—poichè il sangue generosamente sparso in Lombardia dai prodi Toscani invece di sbigottirli fu in loro eccitamento a persistere,—poichè i motivi della guerra non cessano, poichè i pericoli durano, io non devo astenermi nè posso da corrispondere al voto de' miei popoli.

Le nostre relazioni co' Sovrani e con gli Stati fuori della Italia, tranne Austria, sono non solo pacifiche, ma cordiali. Co' Principi e con gli Stati d'Italia noi non ci dimentichiamo mai che abbiamo a stare congiunti come lo dita di una stessa mano destinata a stringere la spada di valore e di concordia, che sola può dare libertà vera alla patria.

Il Piemonte ai nostri reclami pei fatti della frontiera ha risposto inviando con sollecita cura due Commissari per verificare lo stato delle cose, e promettendo amplissima la riparazione che ci fosse dovuta.

Alti mediatori s'interposero a far cessare le differenze non gravi insorte, e che presto speriamo composto fra la Corte di Napoli e il nostro Stato.

Nel deplorare che la concordia fra il Sommo Pontefice e i suoi popoli non siasi mantenuta, e nel confidare che presto si ristabilisca, a noi non è concesso praticare politica che ci riduca nello isolamento, ma seguiranno quella degli altri Stati Italiani a cui e' importa massimamente stare uniti, molto più quando, noi non ne dubitiamo, questa politica si mestri copiosa dei riguardi, che larghissimi merita da noi il Sommo Gerarca della Chiesa e Capo della Religione Cattolica.

La Costituente proclamata in Toscana non dev' essere, o Signori, principio di dissoluzione o di discordia; all' opposto di forza e di armonia. Ella ha da comprendere la formula finale, ove potranno per avventura quietarsi una volta i destini dei popoli Italiani; ma appunto perchè ella è un termine non presume adesso fare ufficio di mezzo; appunto perchè termine estremo non pretende costituire ora grado intercedente che conduca colà. La nostra Costituente non repudia nessuna forma di ordinamento possibile. Ella accoglie in se volentosa tutto quanto, o poco o assai, giova ad accostarla alla meta desiderata. Ella aspetta essere consentita dagli altri Stati Italiani, coi quali importa starci uniti più, che co' vincoli di Confederazione, con quelli di fratellanza.

Il nostro Inviato assisterà al Congresso di Brusselle. Spero, e con tutta l'anima io faccio voti onde cessi la effusione del sangue Cristiano, e il mondo si componga nella pace desiderata; in ogni evento siamo pronti alla guerra, imperciocchè così ci giovi difendere le vite nostre cogli averi, come sarebbe incontaminato l'onore del nostro paese.

Popoli a noi fratelli per natura e per benevolenza antica spontaneamente si davano o ritornavano a noi. Adesso, o Signori, giova rammentare com' essi nella nostra fede riposassero, e noi dobbiamo tenerli congiunti al nostro seno con amplesso che non si scioglie. E certo io non nascondo come fra tanti motivi di amarezza il mio animo trovi qualche conforto considerando come quei popoli con universale consentimento s'ensi dati ai Toscani, la quale cosa, non so bene, se più dimostri o i meriti dei Toscani o la insigne benevolenza degli Apuani, comechè io conosca che onori grandemente ambedue.

Coraggio, onorevoli Senatori e Deputati; nulla è perduto per la patria se staremo fermi in un solo volere con animo che diventa maggiore alla grandezza degli eventi. Le cose, voi sapete, ci tornano amatissime piuttosto pei sacrificii che costano, che per le gioie che procurano; nè i sacrificii per la patria sono poi tanti che la virtù vostra volesse abborrire, o le facoltà vostre non sopportare.

Quando mi assentiste il titolo di Padre, io di lieto animo lo accettai, perchè veramente mi sento affetto paterno per gli uomini che sempre mi studiavi e studio governare con amore. Se i presenti e se i posteri mi confermano il titolo di Padre del mio Popolo, sarà questa la più gloriosa ricompensa che abbia mai saputo desiderare il Principe vostro.

(Translation.)

Gentlemen Senators, Gentlemen Deputies,

IF the period when for the first time I had the honour of opening the Tuscan Parliament was serious and pregnant with hopes and fears, doubly so

in my opinion is this which Providence now places before us, and encumbered with far greater cares, of supreme exigencies, of past sorrow and of future hope. It is on this account that I feel pleased in having once more consulted my people, and assembled a Parliament for the second time which can and will assume a courage equal to the necessity of the times.

The internal order of the State, although it has been maintained much more peaceably than the daily agitations of the people gave reason to expect stands in need of vigorous and durable provisions.

The Municipal Laws, the Police regulations, the re-organization of the Civic Guard, which is the ornament of liberty and the defence of civilization, and the regulation of the Municipal Guard, which is revered as a magistracy and active as a militia must no longer be objects of distant hope, they must become a reality. I rely, Honourable Senators and Deputies, upon your distinguished support to obtain with all speed an institution so much to be desired.

Our straitened finance demands no less your immediate attention. The magnanimous Tuscans have already responded to the call, and they give reason to hope that they will not fail to maintain it. The deficiency of our funds depends partly on the new arrangements imposed by the changed forms of Government, and partly by the exigencies of the war; but, Honourable Senators and Deputies, will you lay down arms until our beloved Italy is in possession of an honourable peace? In the measures which my Government will without loss of time propose to you for supplying the pressing want of money, I trust you will consider not what is proper in time of peace, but what is least difficult in times of danger and distress.

We shall turn our attention together to the formation of the Codes, particularly to that of Civil Procedure, as the means of preventing the remedy from being much more hurtful than the evil itself.

To cultivate genial studies and agreeable instruction amidst the commotions of war, is an arduous task; and although we ought never to forget that the fine arts formed our glory in the days of adversity, and that polite literature is the vital nouriture of all virtue; yet if we do not accomplish all we wish, we shall prepare improvements in every branch of public instruction, and in part we shall put them into practice.

In war—since the blood nobly shed on the plains of Lombardy by the brave Tuscans, instead of dismaying, produced in them only a greater desire to follow it up, and since the motives of the war cease not because its evils still endure,—I ought not, nor can I abstain from yielding to the wishes of my people.

Our relations with the Sovereigns and States of Italy, Austria excepted, are not only peaceful but cordial. With the Princes and States of Italy we never forget that we are to remain united as the fingers of the same hand, destined to wield the sword of courage and of concord, which alone can give true liberty to our beloved country.

Piedmont, to our remonstrances for their invasion of our frontier, has responded with all possible haste, by sending two Commissaries to verify the real state of things, and promises the fullest reparation that is due to us.

Powerful mediators have interposed to put an end to the slight differences arisen, and which we hope will soon be settled, between the Court of Naples and our State.

While we lament that the good intelligence between the Pope and his people has not been maintained, and while we trust that it will speedily be re-established, we are not allowed to adopt a policy which may leave us by ourselves, but we shall be guided by that of the other Italian States to which it is our interest to be united; the more so as we doubt not that it is a policy of the deepest reverence for the Chief Hierarch of the Church and Head of the Catholic religion, and which he fully deserves of us.

The Constituent proclaimed in Tuscany must not be, Honourable Gentlemen, the element of discord and disunion, but on the contrary that of strength and harmony. It is to comprise the final formula whenever the various people of Italy shall be able under Providence to find repose; but as it is the extreme, it does not now presume to do the duty of a middle term; because the extreme term cannot pretend to be an intervening step leading to itself. Our Constituent does not repudiate any possible form of institution; it willingly receives all, great or little, which assists in bringing it near to the desired end. It

only waits to be assented to by the other Italian States with which it is necessary to stand united more by the ties of fraternity than by the bonds of confederation.

Our Ambassador will be present at the Congress of Brussels. I hope and with all my soul I pray that the shedding of Christian blood may cease, and that the world may be united in the wished-for peace; at all events we are prepared for war in order to defend our lives and properties, and at the same time to preserve the honour of our beloved country unstained.

People, our brothers by nature and by former affection have spontaneously come over or returned to us. We must now remember, Gentlemen, how they relied on our good faith, and we must press them to our bosom with a hold not to be dissolved. Indeed I must say that among so many motives of sorrow my soul finds some comfort when it considers how those people have united themselves to the Tuscans with common consent. I cannot decide if it more demonstrates the merits of the Tuscans or the distinguished good feelings of the Apuans; one thing I do know, that it does honour to both.

Courage! Honourable Senators and Deputies. Nothing is lost for our country if we stand united with a soul which becomes bolder in proportion to the greatness of events. Objects you know are more highly esteemed by us for the sacrifices they cost us than for the pleasures they procure us, nor are the sacrifices for our beloved country so many that your bravery should recoil from them, or your powers not endure them.

When you honoured me with the title of "Father" I accepted it with a joyful heart, because I indeed feel affection for the people, whom I have always endeavoured and still endeavour to govern with affection. If present and future generations will confirm to me the title of "the Father of my People," this will be the most glorious reward that your Prince could ever desire.

No. 53.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, January 22, 1849.

I HAVE received your despatches of the 13th instant on the subject of the communications which have passed between the Government of Spain and that of Sardinia respecting the present position of the Pope. It appears that the Court of Madrid is anxious that the Roman Catholic Powers should adopt a combined system of action in order to re-establish the Pope at Rome so that he may from thence exercise his spiritual jurisdiction over those countries which are in spiritual communion with Rome; while the Sardinian Government on the other hand are disinclined to enter into such a confederacy for such a purpose, partly because they deprecate the idea of any intervention on the part of Powers not Italian for the settlement of any Italian question whatever, but principally because it would be impossible to separate the spiritual from the political position of the Pope, and because the intervention of Austria for the adjustment of an Italian question of a political nature would be highly distasteful to the Italian Governments and people. But the Sardinian Government appear to consider that if the Pope were to return to Rome it might be possible by the adoption of a prudent system of forbearance on the part of all interested in his welfare to effect the objects which the Court of Madrid has in view without running those risks of failure which would be incurred by an attempt to carry the Spanish plan into execution.

I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the answer returned by the Sardinian Government to the proposal of the Court of Madrid, of which a copy is inclosed in your despatch, is well conceived and is full of just reasoning and of sound conclusions.

With regard to the question itself Her Majesty's Government entirely agree with the Government of Sardinia in thinking that it would be extremely undesirable that any foreign Power should interfere by force of arms in the discussions which have unfortunately broken out between the Pope and his Roman subjects; but Her Majesty's Government have no reason to believe

that the Government of Spain intends to send any land force to Civita Vecchia, though it is probable that some Spanish ships of war may be sent to that port.

I add a copy of a despatch from Sir H. Seymour * respecting the wish of the Portuguese Government to take part in the settlement of the Pope's affairs.

No. 54.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 22.)

My Lord,

Turin, January 17, 1849.

I RECEIVED last night confidential notice from M. Gioberti, that according to his last despatches from Gaeta the Pope appeared to be decidedly resolved to accept of the armed intervention of Austria to secure his return to his States.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ABERCROMBY.

No. 55.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 22.)

My Lord,

Turin, January 17, 1849.

IN a former despatch I had the honour to forward to you for your information copies of documents which have been exchanged between the Sardinian Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Spanish Minister at this Court relative to the questions of the apprehended military intervention of Spain in Italy in behalf of His Holiness the Pope, and of the proposal made by the Cabinet of Madrid to the various Roman Catholic Courts of Europe to assemble in conference at Madrid upon the affairs of the Pope.

The Chevalier Bertran de Lis, my Spanish colleague at this Court, has considered himself called upon to reply to the note of the 6th instant which he has received from the Abbé Gioberti, and to offer some explanations with regard to the contents of the note of the Sardinian Government and of the views of the Cabinet of Madrid.

This communication from the Chevalier Bertran de Lis has as was naturally to be supposed produced a rejoinder from the Sardinian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and I have now the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship for your information, copies of both these documents, thus completing the correspondence which has just taken place between the Cabinets of Turin and of Madrid with regard to the affairs of His Holiness the Pope, so far as it has hitherto gone.

Your Lordship will perceive that in his last note the Abbé Gioberti takes a very clear and decided view of the question of the right of interference on the part of the Roman Catholic Governments of Europe with regard to the temporal power of the Pope, which my Spanish colleague endeavours to establish as an acknowledged fact, but which the Abbé Gioberti denies, at the same time that he fully admits the interest which all Roman Catholic Governments have in preserving and maintaining the spiritual authority of the Pope as head of the Roman Catholic Church; and the train of argument used by the Sardinian Minister for Foreign Affairs upon this occasion is not without considerable interest and importance at the present moment.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

* See No. 24.

Inclosure 1 in No. 55.

*M. Bertran de Lis to M. Gioberti.**Turin, le 13 Janvier, 1849.*

LE Soussigné, &c., a reçu la note que M. Gioberti, &c., lui a fait l'honneur de lui adresser en date de hier, par laquelle le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Sarde ajoutant quelque croyance à la nouvelle d'un projet du Gouvernement Espagnol d'envoyer une flotille et des troupes d'embarquement à l'appui du Saint Père, proteste contre une pareille intervention armée d'une Puissance étrangère dans les affaires de Rome.

Le Soussigné se hâte, d'après le désir de M. Gioberti, à faire parvenir à son Gouvernement cette protestation hypothétique, aussi bien que la copie y jointe de celle adressée à tout le Corps Diplomatique étranger près de Sa Majesté Sarde.

Mais en attendant qu'il reçoit des ordres de son Gouvernement, le Soussigné croit de son devoir de donner, dans les limites de ses instructions et des faits qui sont à sa connaissance, quelques explications dans le seul but de mettre la conduite sincère et loyale de Sa Majesté Catholique à l'abri de toute interprétation équivoque.

Il y a d'abord un fait que le Soussigné tient fort à établir d'une manière claire et précise, c'est qu'il ne connaît d'autres démarches faites par son Gouvernement à cet égard que celles dont il a eu l'honneur de faire part à M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté Sarde.

Le 31 dernier, le Soussigné eut l'honneur de porter à la connaissance de M. Gioberti, dans une longue conférence, la dépêche qu'il venait de recevoir de Madrid en date du 21 du même mois. Dans cette dépêche, le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Catholique expliquait, sans déguisement, avec toute franchise, et dans le langage qui convenait à des Puissances unies par un même sentiment et par un même intérêt, l'impression douloureuse que les malheurs du Vénérable Pontife Pie IX avait faite dans le cœur de Sa Majesté, les conséquences graves qui pourraient en résulter, et son ferme désir d'y procurer un remède efficace, en cherchant à se mettre d'accord à cet effet avec les autres Puissances Catholiques.

Le Soussigné donna à M. le Ministre lecture et copie de cette dépêche.

En même temps il porta également à sa connaissance, qu'il venait de recevoir une autre dépêche, par où son Gouvernement lui annonçait, afin que le Soussigné fût à même de donner là-dessus toutes les explications nécessaires, que la division navale de la Méditerranée, composée de sept bâtimens de guerre, était sur le point de partir pour Gaète dans le seul but de protéger la personne sacrée et l'autorité religieuse du Saint Père. Voilà tous les faits dont le Soussigné a eu jusqu'à ce moment connaissance sur les démarches du Gouvernement Espagnol. Voilà encore la conduite loyale et ouverte que d'après ses instructions il a eu envers le Cabinet de Turin.

C'est ici que la question de fait s'arrête, et le Soussigné se bornerait très volontiers à ce récit simple et véridique, si la protestation communiquée par M. Gioberti n'impliquait pas à la fois une question de droit qu'il est de l'intérêt des deux Gouvernemens de poser d'une manière nette et précise.

Le Pape en sa qualité de Prince spirituel est sous la protection naturelle de tous les Gouvernemens et de tous les peuples Catholiques. Ce principe est admis par tous les Gouvernemens, et celui de Sa Majesté Sarde ne le méconnaît pas non plus. C'est dans l'intérêt de ce principe qu'existe la Puissance temporelle du Pontife. C'est dans le but de procurer le libre exercice de l'autorité spirituelle que des Etats propres à lui assurer une existence politique indépendante lui ont été assignés. Sous ce point de vue, le Pape n'est pas un Prince Romain; il n'est pas un Prince Italien; il n'appartient à aucun pays en particulier; il est et il n'a jamais cessé d'être le Chef de l'Eglise, le Souverain Chef de toute la Chrétienté. De là découle naturellement le droit du Pape à requérir et le devoir de tout Gouvernement Catholique à lui accorder l'appui qui semblerait indispensable pour le mettre en mesure de remplir avec toute indépendance et dignité sa mission sacrée.

Il ne s'agit en tout ceci, comme Monsieur le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères peut bien le remarquer, que d'établir le principe sans rien décider, sans rien préjuger à l'égard de son exécution. Encore, il n'est nullement question de méconnaître l'utilité qu'il y aura toujours à chercher sur ce point l'accord parfait de toutes les Puissances Catholiques; et le Gouvernement Espagnol, bien loin de méconnaître cette utilité, a été le premier à s'entendre à cet égard avec les Gouvernements de tous les pays intéressés. Si des circonstances extraordinaires, urgentes, exigeraient peut-être pour le moment, son action immédiate, il n'agirait pas sans doute dans le but de suivre une politique indépendante et isolée, qui ne serait ni dans ses sentimens, ni dans ses vues, ni même dans son propre intérêt. Il ne ferait que parer aux inconvéniens et aux dangers d'une situation imminente. Pour bien expliquer sa pensée le Soussigné n'a qu'à rappeler au souvenir de M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères la conduite de M. le Général Cavaignac, alors Président du Conseil des Ministres de la République Française, qui, tout en respectant le droit des autres Gouvernemens, ne s'empres-
pas moins de porter au Pape, dont la sécurité était menacée, le secours effectif d'une flottille et d'une armée. Cette démarche, inspirée par le sentiment d'un devoir sacré, n'arracha qu'un éloges bien sincères à l'opinion générale de tous les pays, et aucune protestation, que le Soussigné sache, ne fut produite à cette occasion par aucun Gouvernement étranger, pas même par celui de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne.

Le Soussigné doit encore appeler l'attention de M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères sur la portée du point de vue sous lequel le Gouvernement Sarde envisage la question actuelle, puisque, en protestant contre l'appui direct d'une Puissance Catholique en faveur du Pape, en n'admettant que la voie de la médiation conciliatrice, quelle que soit la situation où le Saint Père se trouve, on reconnaît en même temps le droit du parti dominant à Rome à mettre à leur gré des obstacles à l'indépendance et au libre exercice de l'autorité religieuse du Souverain Chef de l'Eglise.

Telle n'a pas été à coup sûr la pensée du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Sarde, qui a fort à cœur sans doute la situation afflictive de Sa Sainteté, et qui a mis un empressement louable à lui offrir toute espèce de consolation et même un accueil bienveillant dans le territoire Piémontais. Mais tout en reconnaissant et tout en proclamant cette vérité, il faut aussi admettre que l'esprit de parti à Rome ne s'emparerait pas moins de la conséquence fautive, si l'on veut, mais en apparence fondée et naturelle, de ce principe, pour redoubler d'efforts, pour soulever les obstacles au rétablissement complet de l'autorité du Pape, et pour mettre le Chef de l'Eglise, comme dit le Gouvernement Espagnol dans la dépêche sus-mentionnée, à la merci d'un parti d'un seul des Etats Pontificaux.

La continuation de cet état de choses, le moindre retard dans le retour du Pape à Rome en toute liberté, n'est pas une question aussi indifférente qu'on pourra le croire, aux yeux d'un Gouvernement Catholique, et celui de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne, qui a toujours compté parmi les plus zélés pour la conservation du sentiment religieux et de la dignité et la splendeur de l'Eglise Romaine, est à même d'apprécier combien serait difficile et dangereuse la situation d'un pays qui, puisant, comme l'Espagne, toute sa force et son existence même dans la sûreté du principe Catholique, verrait le Chef de l'Eglise fugitif de ses Etats, poursuivi par ses sujets, abandonné dans son exil par tous les peuples de la Chrétienté. Un pareil spectacle ne serait pas longtemps supportable aux yeux d'un peuple Catholique; des perturbations religieuses et des désordres matériels en seraient tôt ou tard la conséquence inévitable.

Le Soussigné ne remplirait pas un de ses premiers devoirs s'il ne s'empres-
sait pas d'expliquer l'espèce de contradiction que M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères a cru remarquer dans la marche du Gouvernement Espagnol (dans le cas où la nouvelle qui donne lieu à sa protestation serait vraie), puisque cette démarche ne s'accorderait pas trop avec la proposition relative à la formation du Congrès de Plénipotentiaires des Puissances Catholiques. Néanmoins, le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Catholique a été parfaitement conséquent dans sa conduite; par l'appui immédiat et effectif qui résulterait de l'envoi de la flottille, il n'entendrait donner au Pape qu'un moyen de sécurité personnelle, tandis que par la formation du Congrès proposé il tâcherait de procurer l'accord de toutes les Puissances intéressées, afin d'aviser à la manière d'assurer sur des bases permanentes la dignité de l'indépendance et le libre exercice de l'autorité

spirituelle du Souverain Pontife. Le Gouvernement Espagnol n'a pas entendu par là confondre ces différents points de vue de la question; une circonstance fort casuelle, peut-être, mais très significative, démontre d'une manière évidente comme il a été sincère et conséquent dans sa conduite. Les deux dépêches qui annoncent et la proposition du Congrès et les ordres donnés à la division navale, portent la même date. Elles ont été expédiées en même temps de Madrid; elles sont parvenues à la fois au Soussigné, comme M. Gioberti lui-même peut en juger par la communication verbale qui lui fut faite aussi bien de l'une que de l'autre dépêche dans la conférence du 31 du mois dernier. Il suffit donc de rendre justice au bon sens du Gouvernement Espagnol pour être bien persuadé qu'il ne pourrait pas prendre, sur la même question, au même jour, à la même heure, deux résolutions contradictoires.

Le Soussigné, qui a eu des occasions d'apprécier par lui-même, combien est vif l'intérêt que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Sardie témoigne dans la note de M. Gioberti envers le maintien de ses rapports amicaux avec celui d'Espagne (des rapports que tant d'intérêts mutuels resserrent de plus en plus), se fera un devoir de transmettre au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Catholique l'expression de ces sentimens de bienveillance. Il espère par là contribuer en quelque sorte à imprimer à cette correspondance, toute grave qu'elle est, ce caractère d'amitié qui est le seul propre à porter la conviction dans l'esprit, et surtout à conserver, en dépit de tout dissentiment (si toutefois il peut en exister de réels dans une question où le but est commun) la cordiale intelligence qui heureusement existe entre les deux pays.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé)

MANUEL BERTRAN DE LIS.

(Translation.)

Turin, January 13, 1849.

THE Undersigned, &c., has received the note which M. Gioberti, &c., did him the honour to address to him under yesterday's date, and in which the Government of His Sardinian Majesty, attaching some belief to the report of a project of the Spanish Government to send a naval squadron and some troops to the support of the Holy Father, protests against such armed intervention of a foreign Power in the affairs of Rome.

The Undersigned hastens, at the request of M. Gioberti, to forward to his Government this hypothetical protest, as well as the copy thereto annexed of the protest addressed to the whole of the foreign Diplomatic Body at His Sardinian Majesty's Court.

But while he is awaiting the orders of his Government, the Undersigned considers it his duty, within the scope of his instructions and of the facts which are within his knowledge, to give certain explanations, with the sole view of placing the sincere and straightforward conduct of Her Catholic Majesty beyond all equivocal interpretation.

There is, in the first place, one fact which the Undersigned is greatly desirous of establishing in a clear and precise manner, namely, that he is acquainted with no other steps taken by his Government in this matter than those which he has had the honour of communicating to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of His Sardinian Majesty.

On the 31st of last month, the Undersigned had the honour to bring under the notice of M. Gioberti in a long conference, the despatch which he had just received from Madrid under date of the 21st of the same month. In that despatch the Government of Her Catholic Majesty explained without disguise, with perfect frankness, and in the language which became Powers united by the same feeling and by the same interest, the painful impression which the misfortunes of the Venerable Pope Pius IX had produced upon the heart of Her Majesty; the serious consequences which might result from them; and her firm desire to find some effectual remedy for them, by endeavouring to come to an agreement to that effect with the other Catholic Powers.

The Undersigned read that despatch to the Minister, and gave him a copy of it.

At the same time also he acquainted him that he had just received another despatch, in which his Government announced to him, in order that the Undersigned might be enabled to give all necessary explanation thereupon, that the naval division of the Mediterranean, consisting of seven ships of war, was on the point of starting for Gaeta, with the sole object of protecting the sacred person and the religious authority of the Holy Father. Such are the whole of the facts with which the Undersigned is up to the present time acquainted as to the proceedings of the Spanish Government. Such also has been the loyal and straightforward conduct which in accordance with his instructions he has manifested towards the Cabinet of Turin.

It is at this point that the question of fact ceases, and the Undersigned would very willingly confine himself to this plain and truthful statement, if the protest communicated by M. Gioberti did not involve at the same time a question of right which it is the interest of both Governments to establish in a clear and precise manner.

The Pope, in his character of Spiritual Prince, is under the natural protection of all Catholic Governments and nations. This principle is admitted by all Governments, nor does that of His Sardinian Majesty dispute it. It is in accordance with that principle that the temporal power of the Pontiff exists. It was with the view of procuring for him the free exercise of the spiritual authority, that States calculated to secure for him an independent political existence were assigned to him. In this point of view the Pope is not a Roman Prince; he is not an Italian Prince; he belongs to no country in particular; he is and has never ceased to be the head of the Church, the sovereign head of all Christendom. Thence is naturally derived the right of the Pope to demand, and the duty of every Government to grant him, the support which may be considered necessary to enable him to fulfil his sacred mission with perfect independence and dignity.

In all this it is only attempted, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs may observe, to establish the principle, without deciding anything, without prejudging anything as regards the carrying out of that principle. Again, it is by no means sought to question the expediency which there will always be in seeking on this head the perfect agreement of all Catholic Powers; and the Spanish Government so far from undervaluing that expediency, was the first to come to an understanding on that point with the Governments of all the countries interested. If extraordinary or urgent circumstances were to require for the moment its immediate action, it would certainly not act with the view of pursuing an independent and isolated policy, which would neither be in accordance with its sentiments, nor with its objects, nor even with its own interests. It would only provide against the inconveniences and dangers of an imminent situation. To explain properly his meaning, the Undersigned has only to recall to the recollection of the Minister for Foreign Affairs the conduct of General Cavaignac, then President of the Council of Ministers of the French Republic, who, while perfectly respecting the right of other Governments, did not the less hesitate to send to the assistance of the Pope, whose safety was threatened, the effective assistance of a naval squadron and of an army. That measure, prompted by a feeling of sacred duty, only called forth the sincerest eulogiums from public opinion in all countries, and no protest, as far as the Undersigned knows, was made upon that occasion by any foreign Government, not even by that of His Majesty the King of Sardinia.

The Undersigned must also call the attention of the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the full effect of the view in which the Sardinian Government looks upon the present question, since, while protesting against the direct support of the Pope by a Catholic Power, while only admitting the measure of a conciliatory mediation, whatever may be the situation in which the Holy Father is placed, it recognizes at the same time the right of the predominant party in Rome to oppose what obstacles they choose to the independence and the free exercise of the religious authority of the head of the Church.

Such cannot surely have been the meaning of His Sardinian Majesty's Government, which has doubtless very much at heart the distressing situation of His Holiness, and which has evinced so praiseworthy an anxiety to offer him every sort of consolation, and even a kind reception in the Piedmontese territory. But while recognizing and declaring that fact, it must also be

admitted that the spirit of party in Rome would not the less lay hold of the consequences, false if you like, but to all appearance well-founded and natural, of that principle, to redouble their efforts in order to create obstacles to the full re-establishment of the Pope's authority, and to place the head of the Church, as the Spanish Government says in the above-cited despatch, at the mercy of one part of one single one of the Pontifical States.

The continuance of this state of things, the least delay in the return of the Pope in perfect freedom to Rome, is not a question of such indifference, as may be supposed, in the eyes of a Catholic Government; and that of His Sardinian Majesty, which has always been reckoned one of the most zealous for the maintenance of religious feeling and of the dignity and splendour of the Roman Church, is able to appreciate how difficult and dangerous would be the situation of a country which, deriving, as Spain does, all its strength and its very existence from the integrity of the Catholic principle, should see the Head of the Church a fugitive from his own States, persecuted by his subjects, and abandoned in his exile by all the nations of Christendom. Such a spectacle would not be long endurable in the eyes of a Catholic people; religious troubles and material disorders would sooner or later be the inevitable consequences.

The Undersigned would not fulfil one of his principal duties if he did not hasten to explain the kind of contradiction which the Minister for Foreign Affairs thinks he has discovered in the proceedings of the Spanish Government (in the event of the news which gave rise to his protest being true), since such proceedings would not very well accord with the proposal relative to the formation of the Congress of Plenipotentiaries of the Catholic Powers.

Nevertheless Her Catholic Majesty's Government has been perfectly consistent in its conduct; by the immediate and effective support which would result from the mission of the squadron, it would merely design to give the Pope the means of personal safety, while by the formation of the proposed Congress it would endeavour to obtain the agreement of all the Powers interested, with a view to deliberate on the manner of securing upon permanent bases the dignity of the independence and the free exercise of the spiritual authority of the Sovereign Pontiff. The Spanish Government did not thereby intend to confound these different views of the question; a circumstance probably perfectly fortuitous, but at the same time very significant, shows in the clearest manner how sincere and consistent it has been in its conduct throughout. The two despatches which announce the proposition of the Congress and the orders given to the naval division both bear the same date. They were sent at the same time from Madrid; they reached the Undersigned at the same time, as M. Gioberti himself may judge by the verbal communication which was made to him of both despatches in the conference of the 31st of last month. It is therefore only necessary to do justice to the good sense of the Spanish Government, in order to be perfectly persuaded that it could not take on the same question, on the same day, at the same hour, two contradictory resolutions.

The Undersigned, who has had opportunities of appreciating for himself how lively is the interest which the Government of His Sardinian Majesty evinces in the note of M. Gioberti for the maintenance of its amicable relations with the Government of Spain (relations which so many mutual interests render more and more intimate), will make it his duty to transmit to Her Catholic Majesty's Government the expression of those sentiments of good-will. He hopes by so doing to contribute in some degree to impress upon this correspondence, serious as it is, that character of friendship which is alone calculated to carry conviction to the mind, and above all to preserve, in spite of all dissension (if indeed real dissensions can exist in a question where the object is a common one), the cordial good understanding which happily exists between the two countries.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

MANUEL BERTRAN DE LIS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 55.

*M. Gioberti to M. Bertran de Lis.**Turin, le 15 Janvier, 1849.*

LE Soussigné, &c., a reçu la note que M. le Chevalier Bertran de Lis, &c., lui a fait l'honneur de lui adresser le 13 de ce mois en réponse à la sienne du 6. Il s'empresse de le remercier des explications qu'il a bien voulu lui donner par cette réponse et de la parfaite obligeance qu'il y a mise.

Le Soussigné, qui apprécie hautement l'esprit de bonne harmonie et d'amitié dont est empreinte cette note, croit à propos d'adresser sur son contenu à M. Bertran de Lis quelques observations, moins dans l'intérêt Italien que dans l'intérêt Catholique et général; rien n'est assurément plus nuisible à la religion que le mélange du temporel avec le spirituel, et si le Soussigné a bien saisi les argumens énoncés dans la dite note, il lui paraît que quelques uns d'entre eux ne sont pas d'accord avec ce principe.

M. le Ministre d'Espagne peut être assuré que le Cabinet de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne ne le cède point à celui de Madrid dans ses sympathies pour le Souverain Pontife, non plus que dans le vif désir d'abrégier la situation douloureuse où se trouve Sa Sainteté; mais il s'agit de voir quels sont les moyens les plus propres à atteindre ce but, et le Soussigné persiste à croire que ceux qu'il a combattus dans sa note du 6 courant y sont plus contraires que favorables. Les raisonnemens de M. l'Envoyé d'Espagne reposent sur ce principe,—que le Pape en sa qualité de Prince spirituel est sous la protection naturelle de tous les Gouvernemens et de tous les peuples Catholiques. Le Soussigné admet ce principe, mais il ne peut admettre l'usage qu'en fait M. le Ministre de Sa Majesté Catholique. En effet, lorsqu'il ajoute que c'est dans l'intérêt de ce principe qu'existe la puissance temporelle du Pontife; que c'est dans le but de procurer le libre exercice de l'autorité spirituelle que des Etats propres à lui assurer une existence politique indépendante lui ont été assignés; il est évident qu'il confond le spirituel avec le temporel, car la domination temporelle des Papes est un fait purement humain quoique très respectable; et lorsque M. le Ministre d'Espagne ajoute que sous ce point de vue le Pape n'est point un Prince Romain ni un Prince Italien, et qu'il n'appartient à aucun pays en particulier, il tombe évidemment dans une erreur, car comme il s'agit d'une juridiction temporelle, cette proposition impliquerait que les Etats Romains n'appartiennent point géographiquement à l'Italie. Il est donc clair que le Pape, comme Prince spirituel, est placé sous la protection naturelle de tous les Gouvernemens et de tous les Peuples Catholiques; mais que comme Prince temporel il ne peut être placé sous la même protection qu'autant qu'elle se concilie avec la nationalité et l'indépendance Italienne. Ce principe n'est pas moins sacré que les droits temporels du Souverain Pontife; il faut donc chercher à les concilier entre eux. Or comme il répugne au sentiment de la nationalité et de l'indépendance Italienne que les Puissances étrangères interviennent dans les affaires politiques de la Péninsule par la force des armes, il s'en suit que le Pape, comme Prince temporel, ne peut être placé que sous la protection des Puissances Italiennes. Ces Puissances étant éminemment Catholiques et quelques unes d'entre elles ayant tous les moyens nécessaires pour soutenir les droits légitimes du Pontife, la haute protection que méritent ses droits s'accorde de cette façon avec le principe de notre nationalité et de notre indépendance. Telle est la seule manière dont puisse se concilier les deux principes dont il s'agit. Si à la protection dévolue aux Etats Italiens on substitue celle de tous les Etats Catholiques, c'en est fait de notre nationalité; l'Italie devient en quelque sorte sujette du monde entier, et le Pontificat, qui est l'honneur de notre Péninsule, devient pour elle un fardeau et pour ainsi dire un gage de servitude.

C'est d'après ces considérations que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté a offert au Saint Père sa médiation comme le moyen le plus pacifique et le plus approprié au caractère religieux du Pontife pour le rétablir dans ses Etats.

M. l'Envoyé d'Espagne pense que la médiation seule ne suffit pas peut-être pour atteindre le but proposé, le Soussigné n'en disconvient pas, et c'est précisément dans cette prévision que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté en offrant au Saint Père sa médiation, lui a également offert le concours de ses armes, pour le cas où il serait nécessaire d'en venir à cette dernière extrémité.

Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté n'aurait peut-être pas protesté contre l'intervention Espagnole, dont il n'a jusqu'ici aucune connaissance officielle, si le bruit n'en était pas accrédité par l'expédition de la flotille dont M. Bertran de Lis a bien voulu informer le Soussigné. Il est vrai que M. le Ministre de Sa Majesté Catholique l'a assuré en même temps que par cette expédition le Cabinet de Madrid n'entend donner au Pape qu'un moyen de sécurité personnelle; mais tant que le Pape reste à Gaëte il est difficile de concevoir comment la flotille Espagnole est nécessaire à sa sûreté personnelle, à moins de supposer que sa dignité ou sa personne courent quelque danger dans le Royaume de Naples. Que si l'on veut dire que si la flotille est nécessaire pour la sûreté personnelle du Pape lorsqu'il rentrera dans ses Etats, il s'agirait incontestablement alors d'une intervention armée, et le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté doit protester et protestera toujours contre une semblable démarche, qui blesse évidemment la nationalité et l'indépendance Italienne, et qui, loin de favoriser la cause du Saint Père en le réconciliant avec ses peuples, ne peut au contraire que rendre toujours plus difficile cette réconciliation.

En adressant ces observations à M. le Chevalier Bertran de Lis avec toute la franchise et la loyauté convenables entre deux Gouvernemens amis sur une question dans laquelle ils sont animés de sentimens et d'intentions analogues, le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé) GIOBERTI.

(Translation.)

Turin, January 15, 1849.

THE Undersigned, &c., has received the note which the Chevalier Bertran de Lis, &c., did him the honour to address to him on the 13th of this month in reply to his of the 6th. He hastens to thank him for the explanations which he has been good enough to give him in that reply and for the perfect courtesy which he has shown in it.

The Undersigned, who fully appreciates the spirit of harmony and of friendship with which that note is imbued, thinks it expedient to address to M. Bertran de Lis a few observations on its contents, and that less in the interests of Italy than in the Catholic and general interest; nothing assuredly is more detrimental to religion than the mixture of the temporal with the spiritual, and if the Undersigned has properly construed the arguments laid down in the said note, it seems to him that some of them are not in accordance with that principle.

The Minister of Spain may rest assured that the Cabinet of His Majesty the King of Sardinia does not yield to that of Madrid in its sympathy for the Sovereign Pontiff, any more than in its anxious desire to alleviate the distressing position in which His Holiness is placed; but the point is to determine what are the means best calculated to attain this end, and the Undersigned persists in thinking that those which he combated in his note of the 6th instant are rather opposed than favourable thereto. The reasoning of the Envoy of Spain rests upon this principle, that the Pope in his character of Spiritual Prince is under the natural protection of all Catholic Governments and nations. The Undersigned admits this principle, but he cannot admit the use made of it by Her Catholic Majesty's Minister. Indeed, when he adds that it is in pursuance of this principle that the temporal power of the Pontiff exists, that it is with the view of procuring for him the free exercise of his spiritual authority that States calculated to secure for him an independent political existence have been assigned to him, it is evident that he confuses the spiritual with the temporal, for the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, although very respectable, is a purely human affair; and when the Minister of Spain adds that in that point of view the Pope is not a Roman Prince, nor an Italian Prince, and that he does not belong to any country in particular, he clearly falls into error, for as this is a question of temporal jurisdiction, that declaration would imply that the Roman States do not geographically appertain to Italy. It is clear that the Pope, as a spiritual Prince, is placed under the protection of all Catholic Governments and nations; but that as a temporal Prince he cannot be placed under the same protection except in so far as may be consistent with Italian nationality and independence. This principle is not less sacred than the temporal rights of the Pope; it is

necessary therefore to endeavour to reconcile the two. Now as it is repugnant to Italian nationality and independence that foreign Powers should interfere in the political affairs of the Peninsula by force of arms, it follows that the Pope as a temporal Prince can only be placed under the protection of the Italian Powers. Those Powers being eminently Catholic, and some of them having all the means requisite for maintaining the legitimate rights of the Pontiff, the strong protection which his rights demand is in this way reconciled with the principle of our nationality and of our independence. Such is the only manner in which the two principles at stake can be reconciled. If for the protection appertaining to the Italian States that of all Catholic States is substituted, our nationality is at an end, and Italy becomes to a certain extent subject to the whole world, and the Pontificate, which is the glory of our Peninsula, becomes a burthen to it and, so to speak, a badge of servitude.

It is in accordance with these considerations that His Majesty's Government has offered its mediation to the Holy Father, as the most peaceful means, and the means most appropriate to the religious character of the Pontiff, in order to re-establish him in his dominions.

The Envoy of Spain thinks that mediation alone will perhaps not suffice to attain the proposed end; the Undersigned does not differ from him on this head, and it is precisely with a view to provide for such a possibility that His Majesty's Government, in offering its mediation to the Pope, offered him at the same time the assistance of its arms in case it should be necessary to have recourse to that last extremity.

His Majesty's Government would not perhaps have protested against the Spanish intervention, of which it has as yet no official cognizance, if the report had not been confirmed by the dispatch of the squadron, with which M. Bertran de Lis was good enough to acquaint the Undersigned. It is true that Her Catholic Majesty's Minister assured him at the same time that by that expedition the Cabinet of Madrid merely meant to afford the Pope the means of personal safety; but as long as the Pope continues at Gaeta it is difficult to conceive how the Spanish squadron is necessary for his personal safety, unless we suppose that his dignity or his person are exposed to any danger in the Kingdom of Naples. But if it is meant that the fleet is necessary for the personal safety of the Pope when he shall re-enter his dominions, it would then undeniably become a question of armed intervention, and His Majesty's Government must protest, and always will protest, against such a proceeding, which clearly offends Italian nationality and independence, and which, far from advancing the cause of the Holy Father, by reconciling him with his people, can, on the contrary, only render that reconciliation more difficult of accomplishment.

In addressing these observations to the Chevalier Bertran de Lis, with all the frankness and good faith which becomes two friendly Governments in regard to a question in which they are both animated by similar feelings and intentions, the Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) GIOBERTI.

No. 56.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 22.)

My Lord,

Milan, January 15, 1849.

A PUBLIC notice having been issued yesterday by the Military Governor of Milan, relating to the absentees belonging to these States, I do myself the honour to inclose herewith for your Lordship's information the translation of the same.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

Inclosure in No. 56.

Notice issued by the Military Governor of Milan respecting Absentees.

(Translation.)

Milan, January 14, 1849.

THE frequent complaints and doubts adduced by many subjects belonging to the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom illegally absent on account of political convulsions, as well as by their relations and friends, respecting the true sense of the proclamation of his Excellency Field-Marshal Count Radetzky of the 30th December last, No. 6646, which enjoins all the absentees therein mentioned to re-enter these States within the present month of January, induce the Imperial and Royal Government of Milan to make public the necessary explanations for the purpose of rendering more clear every possible particular tending to create uncertainty, in order to check the attempts of the evil-minded and turbulent to deceive the good and peaceful citizens by malicious interpretations.

The aforesaid proclamation being entirely founded upon the sovereign amnesty promulgated at Vienna on the 20th of September last, which accords to all the inhabitants indistinctly a full pardon for the part they may have taken in the late political events, there can be no doubt as to the application of the same proclamation, since the sacred word of the Monarch has not as yet ever been violated, nor ever will be violated.

It was in consequence of the obstinacy of many in not availing themselves of such offer, a part because influenced by malicious representations, a part because flattered by ephemeral and vain hopes, that his Excellency the Field-Marshal determined to fix a decided term for the return of the individuals as set forth in and belonging to the category, that an end might be put to the calamities and the irregularities in the domestic affairs of so many families consequent upon their remaining abroad.

For the fulfilment, therefore, of the aforesaid proclamation, and for the due guidance of the parties concerned, the following is given out for public information:

1st. Such subjects in the Lombardo-Venetian States who must be considered illegally absent, comprise—

a. Those who are absent without passports, or who are furnished with passports, which, though granted by the Imperial and Royal Government of the Lombardo-Venetian States before the 18th of March, 1848, or by the Imperial and Royal Military Government after the 15th of September, were no longer valid;

b. Those who obtained passports from the late Provisional Government; and finally

c. Those who at present are in possession of passports given by this Military Government before the publication dated the 14th of September, 1848, No. 730, by which they are abolished.

2nd. To facilitate then the return of the absent belonging to the category as above stated, the necessary orders have been transmitted to the Imperial and Royal authorities on the frontiers of Lombardy, commanding them to grant the suitable pass for the journey to their respective abodes to all Lombardo-Venetian subjects, who present themselves even though totally unprovided with documents, and also to countersign any passport whatever, or any other paper they may possess.

(Signed)

Lieutenant-Marshal COUNT F. WIMPFEN,
Military Governor of Milan.

No. 57.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 22.)

My Lord,

Paris, January 21, 1849.

M. RICCI called upon me yesterday on his return from Turin.

He stated that he came back with his full powers completely confirmed, that he had found the King Charles Albert now thoroughly disposed to enter

into his views of promoting as far as possible any practicable settlement of the question, and depending much upon the good offices of England that the terms should be such as she could as a true friend advise him to accept. He added that he had been desired to put himself in communication with me and to say that he would start for Brussels the moment I desired him to do so.

I said that I knew your Lordship had written to Vienna, as to the other parties to the Conference, to state that Sir H. Ellis was quite ready to start for his destination, and to urge that there should be no further delay. I did not believe you had as yet received any answer to this notification, but that I would not lose a moment in informing you of his arrival here and of his readiness to proceed to Brussels.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 58.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 22, 1849.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 15th instant, stating that Prince Schwarzenberg had desired you to inform me that Count Colloredo would shortly proceed to London. I have to instruct your Excellency to say to Prince Schwarzenberg that the selection for the important post of Ambassador at this Court, of a person so highly and justly esteemed on account of his distinguished qualities and of his eminent services in other posts, cannot fail to be gratifying to the Queen and to Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 59.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 23, 1849.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 15th instant, reporting that the delay in the departure of the Austrian Plenipotentiary for Brussels had been occasioned by the want of information at Vienna as to the exact composition of the Conference, I have to inform your Excellency that the understanding of Her Majesty's Government is that the object of the Conference at Brussels is that the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and France as mediators should endeavour to re-establish peace between Austria and Sardinia.

The Tuscan Government applied some time ago, as your Excellency will have learnt from the inclosures in my despatch of the 29th of September last, for permission to send a Plenipotentiary to the Conference. I informed the Marquis Ridolfi who came over to England for the purpose of urging this request and whom I frequently saw, that Tuscany could not from the nature of things be a member of the Conference, but that of course if the Grand Duke chose to send an Envoy to the place where the Conference was to be held Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary would at all times be happy to receive any communications which that Envoy might be instructed to make to him, and the Marquis Ridolfi expressed himself as being perfectly satisfied with this arrangement.

Her Majesty's Government however are not aware what is the present state of the political relations between Austria and Tuscany and whether those relations are the relations of peace, or whether in consequence of late events any formal act of reconciliation between Austria and Tuscany may be required.

If the latter should be the case the presence of a Tuscan Envoy at Brussels might afford facilities for re-establishing friendly relations between the two States.

Your Excellency will say that Sir Henry Ellis, and M. Lagrené, and M. Ricci, are all ready to proceed to Brussels, and are only waiting to know when the Austrian Envoy may be expected to arrive there.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 60.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 25.)

(Extract.)

Paris, January 24, 1849.

THE intelligence which the French Government received from Vienna yesterday was of a very unfavourable character with respect to all Italian questions.

It appears that Austria has at present no intention of appointing a Plenipotentiary to take part in the conferences at Brussels.

It is evident to me that the French Government are much discouraged as to the success of their endeavours to preserve peace by the tone adopted by the Austrian Government.

No. 61.

The Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 25.)

My Lord,

Berlin, January 22, 1849.

M. DE HUMANN has returned from Vienna and Olmütz; he will proceed this day to Paris, where he expects to arrive on Wednesday evening.

No. 62.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 26.)

(Extract.)

Milan, January 19, 1849.

I DO myself the honour to inform your Lordship that hodies of troops from different parts of Lombardy have, during the present month, been proceeding towards Cremona, of whom eight battalions were gradually removed from this city, thus reducing the garrison here to 14,000 men.

I do myself the honour further to inform your Lordship that during the last week seventy-five pieces of artillery have left Milan in the direction of Cremona.

The general opinion here is, that the Austrians are going to attack Piedmont on the side of Piacenza; but my impression is, that the large bodies of troops and numerous pieces of artillery which are moving to the eastward, are intended to act against the city of Venice.

No. 63.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 26.)

My Lord,

Milan, January 20, 1849.

I DO myself the honour to inform your Lordship that out of the nine provinces composing Lombardy, the Province of Sondrio alone has complied with the injunctions contained in the circular of Count Montecucoli, the Imperial Plenipotentiary here, of the 14th instant, respecting the election of the representatives intended to be sent to the Austrian capital. The Provincial Congregations of Milan, Bergamo, Brescia, Como, Cremona, Lodi e Crema, Mantua and Pavia, have declared their want of legal powers for this purpose.

The Imperial Plenipotentiary, on being apprized of an opposition so unexpected on the part of these Provincial Congregations, immediately wrote to them to say that the recent orders addressed to him relating to the election of the representatives by the Ministers of the Emperor were sufficient legal powers. Under these circumstances the Minister Plenipotentiary desires the Provincial Congregations to lose no time in electing the representatives, and at their peril to refuse obedience in a matter of such moment.

I have not as yet been able to obtain any information respecting the representatives for the Venetian provinces.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 64.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 27.)

My Lord,

Turin, January 22, 1849.

MY French colleague called upon me yesterday to announce the arrival that morning of General Pelet, charged with a return complimentary mission to His Sardinian Majesty from the President of the French Republic.

Monsieur de Bois-le-Comte added that the General had no instructions to execute of any warlike tendency, the policy of the present Cabinet of Paris being as strictly pacific as that of its immediate predecessor, and therefore that the various surmises to which the mission of General Pelet had given rise were perfectly unfounded.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

R. ABERCROMBY.

No. 65.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 27.)

My Lord,

Turin, January 22, 1849.

I AM informed that it is the intention of His Sardinian Majesty to leave Turin on Wednesday for the purpose of making a military tour of inspection.

His Majesty will begin first by Vercelli and Novara, where the left of the Sardinian army is at present cantoned, and he will then proceed along the rest of the line, returning by Alexandria.

His Majesty will be followed upon this occasion by only the Aide-de-camp on service at the time.

It is supposed that His Sardinian Majesty will not return to Turin until after the opening of the Sardinian Parliament on the 1st February next.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ABERCROMBY.

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, January 28, 1849.

WITH regard to the proposal made by Austria to France for a combined military action by Austria, France, and Naples, for the purpose of re-establishing the Pope in the Roman States, your Excellency will say that Her Majesty's Government concur with the Government of France in viewing with much regret this announcement of the wishes and intentions of the Austrian Government. Her Majesty's Government do not pretend to pass judgment in respect to those differences between the Pope and his subjects which led to the retirement of the Pope to Gaeta; but Her Majesty's Government would upon every account, and not only upon abstract principle but with reference to the general interests of Europe, and from the value which they attach to the maintenance of peace, sincerely deprecate any attempt to settle the differences between the Pope and his subjects by the military interference of foreign Powers.

It appears to Her Majesty's Government, as at present informed, that those differences are not of such a nature as to preclude the hope that they might be accommodated by the diplomatic interposition of friendly Powers, and it is needless to observe how much better such a mode of settlement would be than an authoritative imposition of terms by the force of foreign arms.

With respect to the attitude which Great Britain would in any case assume in regard to these affairs, your Excellency will say that the attitude of this country would be that of observation, and that Great Britain could take no part in such matters beyond expressing, if it should appear to be necessary, the opinion which Her Majesty's Government might entertain thereupon.

These affairs, however important in their bearing upon the general interests of Europe, do not immediately affect any direct interests of Great Britain; and whatever turn therefore these affairs may take, Her Majesty's Government do not foresee that it is likely that the course of these events would afford to the British Government any just reason for departing from that passive and observant attitude which the position of Great Britain in regard to these affairs seems naturally to point out.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 29.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, January 17, 1849.

SOME of the chief persons here, being well acquainted with Turin, have received from thence information that the Piedmontese army is decidedly against a war with the Austrians, and that the Piedmontese Ministers, Gioberti and his colleagues, are determined upon making it; that the King has said that he does not wish for war, but that he cannot resist his Ministers if they choose to force him. The persons who have received this information say that if a war shall be brought on, the Austrians must act with vigour against the enemy, and that there may be cause to fear that the effect of their success might give power to the French war party to overbear the pacific dispositions of the French Government, and in that way occasion a general war in Europe.

Your Lordship will judge both of the accuracy of the facts and of the value of the opinion which it is my duty to report to you. I have not seen any symptom whatever of a change in the intentions of the Austrian Ministry to maintain the possession of Lombardy, &c., at all risks or cost. They will, I believe, continue to abstain from attacks of a serious nature upon Venice, acting in that particular out of deference to the wishes of Her Majesty's Government and of the Government of France.

No. 68.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 29.)

My Lord,

Vienna, January 18, 1849.

ALLOW me to express my apprehensions that the despatches from Mr. Consul-General Dawkins, dated Venice, January 14, which I have now the honour to transmit to your Lordship, report facts which when known to the Austrian Government may produce a change in the conduct of that Government towards Venice, which has been pursued till now in deference to the wishes of Her Majesty's Government and of the French. Your Lordship I fear may find that active measures may be taken by the Austrians for the subjugation of Venice, and it may be that such measures may aid the party disposed in France to pursue a war policy. I will not fail to do all in my power to keep things as they are with respect to Venice, but I cannot but see that the Austrian successes in Hungary have placed at the disposal of the Imperial Government a very great increase of military force; and also I see new motives arise for the exertion of force by the Austrians to relieve themselves from the inconveniences which arise from the Venetian Government.

I will urge the appointment of an Austrian Plenipotentiary for Brussels. I have seen Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, and he continues to think it necessary to be assured of the mediation being limited to the Governments of England and France before the nomination shall take place. Whenever I hear that what has passed at Venice is known to the Imperial Government, I will endeavour to use it as a motive for the acceleration of the appointment of the Plenipotentiary.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 69.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 29.)

My Lord,

Vienna, January 18, 1849.

OWING to the interruption caused in the communications with England by the flood and the destruction of all the bridges over the Danube, I have not been able to transmit to your Lordship the article from the Vienna Gazette which I have now the honour to inclose.

The article in question will probably attract general attention, and I therefore submit it to your Lordship's notice, particularly as it is published in the official part of the Vienna Gazette of January 16, 1849.

Your Lordship will see by the despatches which I have forwarded from Mr. Consul-General Dawkins, the state of affairs between the Piedmontese and the Venetians.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

Inclosure in No. 69.

Extracts from the Vienna Gazette of January 16, 1849.

Milan, ce 23 Août, 1848.

LE Lieutenant-Général Chevalier de Hess mande au Général Comte Salasco que par le retardement de l'exécution du quatrième Article de la Trêve, le Feld-Maréchal Radetzky se voit à regret dans la nécessité de différer la reddition du parc d'artillerie de Peschiera aussi longtemps que le Contre-Amiral Albini aura obéi aux ordres qui lui ont été donnés à cet égard.

Alessandria, ce 25 Août, 1848.

Le Comte Salasco fait la remarque que la mesure prise par le Feld-Maréchal Comte Radetzky lui semble dure et inopportune (unzeitig). Il dit que la Régence

du Roi a fait tout son possible et de la manière la plus loyale pour faire exécuter les stipulations du Contrat de la Trêve ; que des circonstances imprévues et indépendantes de sa volonté retardent l'exécution complète ; et il finit avec la demande de faire partir le dit parc d'artillerie, puisqu'il ne doute aucunement que les obstacles qui retardent le départ de la flotte et des troupes Piémontaises de Venise ne soient écartés avant que le transport arrive aux frontières de Sardaigne.

Milan, ce 27 Août, 1848.

Le Général Chevalier de Hess mande au Général Comte Salasco que le Feld-Maréchal Comte Radetzky vient de recevoir l'ordre de la part du Ministère de la Guerre, d'arrêter la tradition ultérieure du parc d'artillerie, jusqu'à ce que les stipulations du Contrat de la Trêve du 9 courant seront parfaitement exécutées.

Cependant tous les préparatifs sont faits afin qu'aussitôt que la nouvelle du départ de la flotte et des troupes Piémontaises de la ville et des eaux de Venise sera arrivée, le parc d'artillerie de Peschiera puisse partir sans aucun délai.

Alessandria, ce 28 Août, 1848.

Le Lieutenant-Général Baron Chiodo informe le Lieutenant-Général Chevalier de Hess que le Ministre de la Guerre de Sardaigne a fait parvenir l'ordre réitéré au Contre-Amiral et Commandant en chef des troupes Piémontaises à Venise d'exécuter le quatrième Article du Contrat de la Trêve. Il espère par conséquent que le Général Hess ne mettra pas d'obstacles au libre départ du parc d'artillerie de Peschiera.

Milan, ce 30 Août, 1848.

Le Lieutenant-Général Chevalier de Hess répond au Général Baron Chiodo que, vu les ordres les plus précis du Ministère de la Guerre touchant la tradition du parc d'artillerie de Peschiera, le Feld-Maréchal Comte Radetzky ne peut que s'y tenir le plus strictement.

Alessandria, ce 1 Septembre, 1848.

Le Général Baron Chiodo fait parvenir au Général Chevalier de Hess un nouvel ordre qui prescrit au Général de La Marmora de quitter la terre ferme et la ville de Venise. Il le prie de faire parvenir cet ordre par Trieste à sa destination.

En même temps il réitère sa demande touchant la reddition du parc d'artillerie au Piémont.

Milan, ce 5 Septembre, 1848.

Le Général Chevalier de Hess fait part au Général Baron Chiodo que le Feld-Maréchal Comte Radetzky partage parfaitement le désir de la Régence de Sardaigne de voir exécutée le plus tôt possible la Convention du 9 Août, mais qu'il ne peut s'écarter à cet égard des ordres du Ministère de la Guerre et par conséquent non plus permettre le départ du parc d'artillerie, avant que la flotte et les troupes de la Sardaigne n'aient quitté Venise.

Le Général Chevalier de Hess fait observer que l'exécution du quatrième Article de la Trêve touchant l'évacuation de Venise n'est plus avancée que le premier jour de la signature de cette Convention, tandis qu'elle aurait pu être effectuée en tant de jours qu'on a laissé inutilement passer de semaines.

Quoique le Ministre de la Guerre à Vienne suppose que ce retardement doit provenir d'autres raisons, le Général de Hess ne l'attribue pourtant qu'à l'inadvertence de l'intimation des ordres relatifs, et ne met aucunement en doute les bons desseins de la Régence du Roi Charles Albert.

Alessandria, ce 7 Septembre, 1848.

Le Général Baron Chiodo fait part que le Roi Charles Albert s'est aperçu avec douleur du système de méfiance que la Régence Impériale semble observer en égard au Piémont. L'Autriche attribue à un mauvais dessein ce qui est indépendant de la volonté de la Régence du Roi. Le retardement de l'évacuation de Venise ne peut être attribué qu'à des circonstances que la Régence Royale n'est pas en état de changer.

Mais quoiqu'il en soit, le Général Piémontais nourrit pourtant l'espérance qu'on s'approchera bientôt du moment où ces difficultés seront levées et où les deux Puissances se convaincront de leur loyauté réciproque en égard à l'exécution de tous les points du contrat qu'on a fait sincèrement et avec la franchise toute particulière au militaire.

Milan, ce 23 Septembre, 1848.

Le Lieutenant-Général Chevalier de Hess mande au Général Baron Chiodo que le Feld-Maréchal Comte Radetzky a reçu l'ordre de la Régence Impériale de faire venir à la connaissance de Sa Majesté Sarde, que puisque le Ministère de la Guerre s'est aperçu que les Articles du Contrat de la Trêve ne sont pas encore remplis totalement, elle se voit dans la nécessité de demander, en vertu de cette même convention, l'exécution des points suivants :

1. L'évacuation des Etats de Modène des troupes Sardes ;
2. La reddition de la forteresse d'Ospodo défendue par l'artillerie Piémontaise ;
3. Le retour de la flotte Sarde dans la Mer Méditerranée (le 19 Septembre elle a été dans la rade d'Ancone).

Quoique la tradition du parc d'artillerie dépende de l'exécution des dits points, le Maréchal le prend pourtant sur lui de consentir déjà à présent à la remise de la moitié du parc d'artillerie, espérant que les trois points ci-dessus mentionnés de la Trêve seront exécutés loyalement.

Alessandria, ce 25 Septembre, 1848.

Le Lieutenant-Général Baron Chiodo insiste à la reddition de la seconde moitié du parc d'artillerie de Peschiera.

Milan, ce 26 Septembre, 1848.

Le Général Chevalier de Hess assure le Général Baron Chiodo que la seconde moitié du parc d'artillerie sera remise aussitôt que la Régence Impériale aura acquis la certitude que les trois points dont il a parlé dans la lettre du 23 Septembre ont été mis à exécution.

Alessandria, ce 29 Septembre, 1848.

Le Général Chiodo mande au Général Chevalier de Hess qu'il appréhende que la promesse faite il y a quelques jours par le Ministre de la Guerre Piémontais, de donner ordre à la flotte Sarde devant Ancone de quitter la Mer Adriatique immédiatement après le départ du parc d'artillerie de Peschiera, ne paraisse suffisante au Comte Radetzky. Ce serait croire le Piémont capable de ne pas remplir sa promesse, sans indiquer aucun motif pour justifier une telle supposition.

Le Général Piémontais fait la proposition que les deux Puissances veuillent donner leurs ordres à cet égard en même temps.

Milan, ce 1 Octobre, 1848.

Le Lieutenant-Général Chevalier de Hess est chargé de déclarer au Baron Chiodo que le Feld-Maréchal Radetzky regrette extrêmement de ne pouvoir répondre au désir du Ministre de la Guerre de Sa Majesté Sarde.

L'importance politique de l'affaire en question paraît si sérieuse au Maréchal, qui est responsable à la Régence Impériale de toutes les suites d'un manque d'exécution du Contrat de la Trêve, qu'il se voit obligé d'insister le plus rigoureusement à l'exécution de tous les articles de cette convention.

Sans énumérer les motifs de la méfiance donnés à la Régence Impériale par celle de Sa Majesté Sarde, il suffira pour la justifier de faire mention du procédé avant l'époque du commencement des hostilités ; et puis la manière dont celles-ci ont été commencées n'est vraiment pas telle à inspirer de la confiance à la Régence de Sa Majesté l'Empereur. Pendant le retard fait par le Contre-Amiral Albini et par le Général de La Marmora dans l'exécution du quatrième Article touchant l'évacuation de la ville de Venise, l'armée Autrichienne a perdu un temps précieux, qui aurait peut-être suffi à reconquérir cette ville révoltée à Sa Majesté l'Empereur.

Le Ministre d'Angleterre et celui de la République Française accrédités

suprès de la Cour de Turin adressent au Feld-Maréchal Comte Radetzky une note du 10 Octobre, dans laquelle ils déclarent qu'après avoir examiné les plaintes du Feld-Maréchal et les motifs que la Régence Sarde leur a opposés, ils le croient de leur devoir de prononcer la conviction acquise par cet examen, que la Régence de la Sardaigne a toujours rempli consciencieusement les stipulations de l'Armistice, puisqu'ils ont vu avec douleur que le Maréchal n'a rendu justice d'une manière suffisante à la Régence Sarde, et qu'il a fait répondre avec animosité aux justifications de cette Régence. Au nom de la mission de paix et de réconciliation qu'ils ont tâché de faire valoir à la Cour du Piémont, ils prient le Maréchal de mettre en considération combien la retenue du parc d'artillerie de Peschiera est contraire aux espérances qu'on pouvait avoir de cette mission pour la paix de l'Europe, et requièrent sa coopération pour écarter tous les objets qui puissent compromettre le succès heureux des négociations.

A cette note le Feld-Maréchal Comte Radetzky répondit le 12 Octobre, 1848, s'excusant de ne pouvoir entrer avec eux dans une discussion sur un objet qui est purement militaire, et qui ne peut être traité que par les états-majors des deux armées.

D'ailleurs le Maréchal se rapporte au précis de la lettre du Général Chevalier de Hess adressée au Général Baron Chioldo le 1 Octobre, qui justifie parfaitement la retenue du parc d'artillerie de Peschiera.

Le Ministre d'Angleterre et celui de la République Française à Turin mandèrent le 21 Octobre au Feld-Maréchal Comte Radetzky, que la Régence du Roi Charles Albert se voit dans la nécessité de donner ordre au commandant de la flotte Sarde dans la Mer Adriatique, Contre-Amiral Albini, de se rendre avec sa flotte devant Venise, pour forcer le Maréchal de rendre à la Régence Piémontaise le matériel de siège et les chevaux qui sont restés à Peschiera et qu'il a refusé de rendre jusqu'à présent sous des prétextes vains et singuliers (besondern Vorwand, prétexte particulier). Ils ajoutèrent encore qu'outre cela la flotte Sarde a l'ordre de protéger Venise contre tout acte de violence de la part de l'Autriche.

Le Maréchal Comte Radetzky reçut cette note dans le même temps où le Ministère Impérial à Vienne a été dans un état de dissolution complète et où l'anarchie régnait dans cette capitale. Dans cet état critique le Maréchal le prit sur lui de répondre le 23 Octobre à la susdite note, qu'il est prêt à consentir à la tradition de la seconde moitié du parc d'artillerie de Peschiera, sous condition que le Ministre d'Angleterre et celui de la République Française garantissent que la flotte de la Sardaigne retourne sur-le-champ dans la Mer Méditerranée.

A cette proposition les deux Ministres firent une réponse évasive, et la flotte Sarde parut le 27 Octobre de nouveau devant Venise, d'où elle partit le 13 Novembre, pour retourner à Ancone, mais où elle leva l'ancre le 13 Décembre pour se rendre de nouveau à Venise.

De tout cela il appert qu'il n'a tenu qu'au Cabinet de Turin d'acquiescer au Maréchal Radetzky la reddition complète du parc d'artillerie de Peschiera, s'il s'était accommodé aux stipulations de la Trêve de Milan, en vertu desquelles la flotte Sarde devait se retirer dans la Mer Méditerranée et non pas croiser dans la Mer Adriatique.

(Translation.)

Milan, August 23, 1848.

Lieutenant-General the Chevalier Hess acquaints General Count Salasco that in consequence of the delay in the execution of Article IV of the Truce, Field-Marshal Radetzky regrets to find himself obliged to defer the surrender of the artillery at Peschiera until such time as Vice-Admiral Albini shall obey the orders given to him in that respect.

Alessandria, August 25, 1848.

Count Salasco remarks that the step taken by Field-Marshal Count Radetzky seems to him harsh and inopportune. He says that the King's Government has done all in its power, and that in the most honest manner, to cause the stipulations of the contract of truce to be executed; that circumstances unforeseen and independent of his wishes have delayed its complete execution,

and he ends by a demand that the said artillery be allowed to depart, as he has doubt that the obstacles which delayed the departure of the fleet and of the Piedmontese troops from Venice, will have been removed before the convoy shall arrive at the Sardinian frontiers.

Milan, August 27, 1848.

General Hess informs General Salasco that Field-Marshal Radetzky has just received an instruction from the Minister of War to stop the surrender of the second portion of the artillery until the stipulations of the contract of truce of the 9th instant shall be completely executed.

Nevertheless all preparations are made in order that as soon as the news of the departure of the Piedmontese fleet and troops from the city and waters of Venice shall have arrived, the artillery may leave Peschiera without delay.

Alessandria, August 28, 1848.

Lieutenant-General Chiodo informs Lieutenant-General Hess that the Sardinian Minister of War has again instructed the Vice-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the Piedmontese troops at Venice to execute the 4th Article of the contract of truce. He hopes in consequence that General Hess will put no impediments in the way of the free departure of the artillery from Peschiera.

Milan, August 30, 1848.

Lieutenant-General Hess answers General Chiodo, that in consequence of the very precise orders of the Minister of War respecting the surrender of the artillery at Peschiera, Field-Marshal Radetzky can only obey them most strictly.

Alessandria, September 1, 1848.

General Chiodo communicates to General Hess a fresh order, which directs General de La Marmora to quit the mainland and city of Venice. He requests that General Hess will cause this instruction to be forwarded by Trieste to its destination.

At the same time he repeats his demand touching the surrender of the artillery to Piedmont.

Milan, September 5, 1848.

General Hess acquaints General Chiodo that Field-Marshal Radetzky fully shares in the wish of the Sardinian Government to see the Convention of the 9th of August executed as soon as possible, but that he cannot depart in this respect from the instructions of the Minister of War, and therefore cannot permit the departure of the artillery before the fleet and troops of Sardinia have quitted Venice.

General Hess points out that the execution of the IVth Article of the Truce, touching the evacuation of Venice, is not nearer being carried out than on the first day of the signature of that Convention, whilst it might have been completed in as many days as there have been allowed weeks to pass uselessly.

Although the Minister of War at Vienna supposes that this delay must arise from other reasons, General Hess nevertheless only attributes it to some inadvertence in making known the orders on the subject, and in no way questions the honourable intentions of the Government of King Charles Albert.

Alessandria, September 7, 1848.

General Chiodo announces that King Charles Albert has perceived with pain the system of distrust on which the Imperial Government seems to act with respect to Piedmont. Austria attributes to an evil intention that which is independent of the wishes of the King's Government. The delay in the evacuation of Venice can only be attributed to circumstances which the Royal Government is not in a position to alter.

But however this may be, the Piedmontese General cherishes all the same

the hope of shortly arriving at the moment when those difficulties will be removed, and when the two Powers will be convinced of their reciprocal sincerity with respect to carrying out all the points of the contract, which was made sincerely and with the frankness characteristic of soldiers.

Milan, September 23, 1848.

Lieutenant-General Hess acquaints General Chiodo that Field-Marshal Radetzky has received the orders of the Imperial Government to cause it to be brought to the knowledge of His Sardinian Majesty, that as the Minister of War perceives that the Articles of the Contract of Truce are not yet completely fulfilled, the Minister of War finds himself compelled to demand, in virtue of the said Convention, the execution of the following points:—

1. The evacuation of the territories of Modena by the Sardinian troops.
2. The surrender of the territories of Osopo defended by Piedmontese artillery.
3. The return of the Sardinian fleet into the Mediterranean (on the 19th of September it was in the roads at Ancona).

Although the surrender of the artillery depends upon the execution of the said points, the Marshal takes it upon himself to consent at this present time to give up half of the artillery, trusting that the three points of the truce above-mentioned will be faithfully executed.

Alessandria, September 25, 1848.

Lieutenant-General Baron Chiodo insists on the return of the second half of the artillery at Peschiera.

Milan, September 26, 1848.

General Hess assures General Chiodo that the second half of the artillery will be surrendered as soon as the Imperial Government shall have received certain intelligence that the three points of which he spoke in his letter of the 23rd of September shall have been executed.

Alessandria, September 29, 1848.

General Chiodo acquaints General Hess that he fear that the promise made some days back by the Piedmontese Minister of War, that he would issue instructions that the Sardinian fleet before Ancona should quit the Adriatic immediately after the departure of the artillery from Peschiera, is not sufficient for Count Radetzky. That would amount to supposing that Piedmont was capable of not performing its promise, without giving any reason to justify such a supposition.

The Piedmontese General proposes that the two Powers should simultaneously give their orders in this respect.

Milan, October 1, 1848.

Lieutenant-General Hess is instructed to declare to Baron Chiodo that Field-Marshal Radetzky regrets extremely not to be able to meet the wish of His Sardinian Majesty's War Minister.

The political importance of the affair in question seems so serious to the Marshal, who is responsible to the Imperial Government for all the consequences of a failure in the execution of the Contract of Truce, that he finds himself compelled to insist most rigorously upon the execution of all the Articles of that Convention.

Without enumerating the causes of distrust given to the Imperial Government by the Government of His Sardinian Majesty, it will be a sufficient justification only to mention what occurred before the period of the commencement of hostilities; and moreover, the manner in which those hostilities were commenced is truly not of a character to inspire the Government of His Majesty the Emperor with confidence. During the delay of Vice-Admiral Albini and General de La Marmora in carrying into execution the IVth Article touching the evacuation of the city of Venice, the Austrian army has lost valuable time, which

perhaps might have been sufficient to reconquer that revolted city for His Majesty the Emperor.

The British Minister and the Minister of the French Republic accredited to the Court of Turin have addressed a note to Field-Marshal Radetzky, dated October 10, in which they declare that after having examined the complaints of the Field-Marshal, and the explanations with which they are met by the Sardinian Regency, they consider it to be their duty to pronounce the conviction at which they have arrived by means of that examination, that the Sardinian Government has always conscientiously fulfilled the stipulations of the Armistice, since they see with pain that the Marshal has not rendered sufficient justice to the Sardinian Government, and has caused the explanations of that Government to be answered with bitterness. In the name of the mission of peace and reconciliation which they have endeavoured to carry out at the Court of Turin, they beg the Marshal to take into consideration how the retention of the artillery of Peschiera is contrary to the expectations which might have been entertained from this mission in favour of the peace of Europe, and they call upon him for his co-operation in removing everything which could compromise the happy conclusion of the negotiations.

To this note Field-Marshal Radetzky replied on the 12th of October, 1848, by excusing himself for not being able to enter with them into a discussion on a subject of a purely military character, and which can only be treated by the General Staff of the two armies.

Further, the Marshal refers to the *précis* of the letter of General Hess addressed to General Chiodo, dated October 1, which perfectly justifies the retention of the artillery of Peschiera.

The British Minister and the Minister of the French Republic at Turin, on the 21st October, informed Field-Marshal Radetzky that the Government of King Charles Albert find themselves obliged to instruct the Commander of the Sardinian fleet in the Adriatic, Vice-Admiral Albini, to go with his fleet to Venice, in order to compel the Marshal to restore to the Piedmontese Government the artillery and horses which remain at Peschiera, and which he has up to the present time under vain and singular pretences refused to do. They also added that the Sardinian fleet is ordered to protect Venice against any act of violence on the part of Austria.

Marshal Radetzky received this note at the very moment when the Imperial Ministry at Vienna was in a state of complete dissolution; and when the capital was in a state of anarchy. In such a crisis the Marshal took upon himself to answer, on the 23rd of October, the above-mentioned note, that he was ready to consent to the surrender of the second half of the artillery at Peschiera, on condition that the Ministers of England and of the French Republic would guarantee that the Sardinian fleet should at once return into the Mediterranean.

To this proposal the two Ministers returned an evasive reply, and the Sardinian fleet appeared again before Venice on the 27th of October, from whence it departed on the 13th of November, in order to return to Ancona, from whence, however, it sailed on the 13th of December, to go again to Venice.

From all this it is evident that it was in the power of the Cabinet of Turin to obtain the complete surrender of the artillery at Peschiera, if it had complied with the stipulations of the Truce of Milan, in virtue of which the Sardinian fleet was bound to retire into the Mediterranean Sea, and not to cruise in the Adriatic.

No. 70.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 29.)

My Lord,

Venice, January 14, 1849.

I TRANSMIT to your Lordship herewith, with reference to my despatch of the 14th ultimo, a copy of a decree published by the Venetian Government in the official Gazette of the 11th instant, ordering the formation of a new legion in Venice, to be called the Euganean Legion, and to be composed of persons arriving here from the Provinces of Padua, Vicenza and Rovigo.

It is calculated that nearly 5000 young men have arrived in Venice during the last six weeks or two months from the different provinces on the mainland to avoid the conscription that is being enforced by the Austrian authorities.

Almost all these men have taken service under the Venetian Government, so that the strength of the garrison amounts now to very nearly the same as before the departure of the Roman troops which I mentioned in my despatch of the 13th ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

Inelasure in No. 70.

Decree of the Provisional Government of Venice for the formation of a new Legion.

1. UNA nuova legione, che Euganea sarà nominata, viene istituita in Venezia, e comprenderà i militi e cittadini già qui radunati e che fossero per giungere dalle Provincie di Padova, Vicenza e Rovigo.

2. Il trattamento, la costituzione e l'uniforme saranno alla foggia delle altre Venete legioni d'infanteria regolare.

3. Per la riunione degli arruolandi e per l'organizzazione del corpo, è destinata la caserma di S. Francesco di Paola, ove saranno dirette le reclute, che dovranno essere prima presentate ed iscritte al deposito generale nel locale di S. Biagio.

4. Al Generale Sanfermo è particolarmente demandato l'incarico di sorvegliare e dirigere la formazione di tale legione, dipendentemente sempre dalle divisioni 1 e 2 del Dipartimento della Guerra.

Venezia, 9 Gennaio, 1849.

(Firmato) CAVEDALIS.

(Translation.)

1. A NEW legion to be called Euganean, shall be formed in Venice, and shall consist of the military and the citizens that are already here assembled, or who may arrive from the Provinces of Padua, Vicenza, and Rovigo.

2. The pay, order, and uniform shall be like that of the other regular Venetian legions of infantry.

3. The barracks of St. Francesco di Paola is destined as the place wherein to assemble the enrolled and to organize the corps, and where the recruits shall be sent after they have been presented and inscribed in the general dépôt at the Place St. Biagio.

4. General Sanfermo is specially appointed to superintend and direct the formation of this legion, always however under the immediate orders of divisions No. 1 and 2 of the War Department.

Venice, January 9, 1849.

(Signed) CAVEDALIS.

No. 71.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received January 29.)

(Extract.)

Venice, January 14, 1849.

PEOPLE here are much dispirited at the accounts of the Austrian successes in Hungary, but no change is perceptible in the intentions of the Provisional Government.

No. 72.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 1.)

(Extract.)

Paris, January 31, 1849.

I RECEIVED your Lordship's despatch of the 28th instant, with reference to armed intervention in the Roman States, by special messenger yesterday, and communicated it in the course of the afternoon to M. Drouyn de Lhuys. The Minister remarked that your Lordship had stated forcibly the objections to most of the courses proposed, which he had himself felt and discussed with me. His last intelligence from Gaeta just received led him to believe that the Pope had less inclination for Austrian intervention than was at first supposed. M. Drouyn de Lhuys said that the best settlement of the question would no doubt be a spontaneous restoration of the Pope by his own subjects, the next would be the same result indirectly encouraged from without.

No. 73.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord,

Turin, January 21, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copies of further correspondence which has taken place between M. Bertran de Lis and M. Gioberti respecting Spanish intervention in favour of the Pope.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 73.

*M. Bertran de Lis to M. Gioberti.**Turin, 17 Janvier, 1849.*

LE Soussigné, &c., a reçu la note datée le 15 courant que M. Gioberti, &c., lui a adressée en réponse à celle qu'il avait eu l'honneur de lui communiquer sous la date du 13 du même mois.

Le Soussigné doit rappeler au souvenir de M. Gioberti le but de la note susmentionnée, dans laquelle il ne s'agissait d'abord que de mettre à l'abri de toute interprétation équivoque la conduite sincère et loyale du Gouvernement Espagnol, et ensuite de revendiquer le droit de toutes les Puissances Catholiques de protéger le St. Père dans tout ce qui aurait rapport au libre exercice de son autorité spirituelle.

Ce but le Soussigné croit l'avoir atteint, car malgré la divergence qui existe entre ses arguments et ceux de M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères à l'égard des rapports du pouvoir temporel avec les droits du pouvoir spirituel du Souverain Pontife, il est également admis des deux côtés, que le Pape, en sa qualité de Prince spirituel, est sous la protection naturelle de tous les Gouvernemens et de tous les peuples Catholiques.

Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Sarde n'a pas seulement admis ce principe en théorie, mais encore il vient de le mettre en pratique, puisque d'après la résolution dont M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères a eu la bonté de prévenir le Soussigné, le Cabinet de Turin prévoyant l'insuffisance de la médiation conciliatrice et purement amicale entre le Souverain Pontife et le parti dominant à

Rome, s'est empressé, à l'instar d'autres Puissances Catholiques, d'offrir au Saint Père le concours des armes Piémontaises dans le cas où il serait nécessaire d'en venir à cette extrémité.

Le Soussigné qui d'après les instructions de son Gouvernement n'a eu dans toute cette négociation en vue que de chercher le concours bienveillant de Sa Majesté Sarde, afin de mettre un terme à la situation précaire du souverain Chef de l'Eglise, ne peut que se féliciter des grands pas déjà faits vers un rapprochement complet entre les deux Gouvernements sur la manière d'envisager cette grave question, et spécialement d'une démarche dont l'esprit est si parfaitement d'accord avec le but purement religieux que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Catholique s'est proposé.

Mais M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, quoiqu'il admette que le Pape, en sa qualité de Prince spirituel, soit sous la protection des Puissances Catholiques, quoiqu'il ne refuse pas l'intervention armée en cas d'insuffisance des moyens conciliateurs, ne reconnaît point l'exercice du droit résultant de ce principe à d'autres Puissances qu'aux Etats de la Péninsule Italienne.

Le Soussigné cependant ne voit aucune raison qui autorise à limiter à ces Etats l'application d'un principe général et à en exclure les autres Puissances qui étant liées par le même principe Catholique au Saint Père, sont dans une parfaite égalité de relations avec les Etats Pontificaux, quelle que soit d'ailleurs leur position respective géographique et la diversité de leurs intérêts réciproques sous le point de vue temporel.

Tout en respectant ce sentiment qui porte M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères à invoquer à ce sujet le principe de la nationalité Italienne, le Soussigné doit lui faire observer que cette nationalité n'existe ni de droit ni de fait, et que l'Etat Romain, d'après l'organisation politique actuelle de la Péninsule, comme Etat Souverain, est à l'égard du Piémont aussi indépendant qu'envers tout autre pays étranger. Il peut exister des intérêts spéciaux qui rendent les rapports entre les divers Gouvernements de l'Italie plus intimes, si l'on veut, mais toujours est-il que cette intimité de relations ne détruisant pas le fait de l'indépendance, la question de droit reste la même pour tous les Etats Catholiques sans distinction. Les motifs de localité, de politique, d'intérêt matériel, ne changent en rien la nature de ce droit. Tant que l'Italie ne formera pas une seule nation soumise à un seul Gouvernement, tant que les Etats du Pape ne seront pas une province Italienne, l'appui offert au Souverain Pontife n'a pu l'être que dans l'intérêt religieux, et dans ce cas le droit de toute Puissance Catholique à y donner son concours ne peut pas être mis en question.

Toutes les Puissances Catholiques étant également intéressées, toutes doivent être également appelées à la défense de l'autorité religieuse et de la personne sacrée du souverain Chef de l'Eglise, et cette application du principe, qui est la plus vraie, est assurément la plus convenable aussi, puisque le concours des Puissances Catholiques, une fois accepté, comme il est établi et souhaité par le Gouvernement Espagnol, aucune influence partielle et isolée ne dominerait alors, aucun esprit de rivalité locale ne viendrait soulever des obstacles nouveaux et peut-être même dénaturer la question.

Le Soussigné se borne à appeler sur ce point l'attention de M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, et il espère de la bonne foi que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Sarde a mise dans le cours de cette négociation, qu'il n'aura plus de difficulté, une fois le principe admis, à se mettre d'accord avec le Gouvernement Espagnol dans son application rigoureuse et conséquente.

Le Gouvernement Sarde, par son ferme désir de mettre un terme à la situation douloureuse du Pontife, n'a pas hésité à agir avec tout l'empressement et toute l'activité que la gravité des circonstances exigeaient. Quoiqu'il n'ait d'abord cru nécessaire, dans un sentiment louable de conciliation, que d'avoir recours à une médiation amicale, à des négociations partielles et isolées, il se hâte maintenant sous la pression des circonstances plus graves et malgré les limites qu'il s'était lui-même tracées, d'offrir à Sa Sainteté l'appui de la force matérielle. Cette conduite noble et franche donne lieu à espérer que le Cabinet Sarde, en reconnaissant tout ce qu'il y aurait de juste et de convenable à ne pas rester en-dehors de l'action des autres Puissances dans cette question, se décidera sans doute à agir tout-à-fait de concert avec elles, en acceptant pleinement la proposition du Cabinet Espagnol à l'exemple du Gouvernement Napolitain, qui n'ayant en vue que le grand principe religieux, indépendamment de toute considération poli-

tique, n'a pas eu (d'après une nouvelle purement confidentielle) la moindre objection à y offrir sa coopération la plus sincère.

Le Soussigné ne doit pas terminer sa réplique sans prier M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de vouloir bien porter son attention sur les différentes parties de sa note où il parle de l'objet de l'envoi de la flotille Espagnole à Gaète. Il y est dit d'une manière nette et précise quel est cet objet, qui d'ailleurs s'explique fort simplement par la présence dans le même port de forces maritimes respectables d'autres Gouvernemens Catholiques, mises, s'il faut en croire la rumeur publique, aux ordres immédiats de Sa Sainteté.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé)

MANUEL BERTRAN DE LIS.

(Translation.)

Turin, January 17, 1849.

THE Undersigned, &c., has received the note dated the 15th instant, which M. Gioberti, &c., did him the honour to address to him in reply to that which he had the honour to communicate to him under date of the 13th of this month.

The Undersigned must recall to M. Gioberti's recollection the object of the above-mentioned note, which in the first place only sought to place beyond all equivocal interpretation the sincere and straightforward conduct of the Spanish Government, and then to assert the right of all the Catholic Powers to protect the Holy Father in everything which might concern the free exercise of his spiritual authority.

This end the Undersigned thinks he has attained, for in spite of the divergence which exists between his arguments and those of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, on the subject of the connexion between the temporal power and the rights of the spiritual power of the Sovereign Pontiff, it is equally admitted on both sides that the Pope, in his character of Spiritual Prince, is under the natural protection of all Catholic Governments and nations.

The Government of His Sardinian Majesty has not only admitted this principle in theory, but has likewise just put it into practice, since, in conformity with the determination with which the Minister for Foreign Affairs had the goodness to acquaint the Undersigned beforehand, the Cabinet of Turin, foreseeing the insufficiency of conciliatory and purely friendly mediation between the sovereign party and the dominant party in Rome, has hastened, in imitation of other Catholic Powers, to offer to the Holy Father the assistance of the Piedmontese, in the event of its becoming necessary to have recourse to that extreme measure.

The Undersigned who, agreeably to the instructions of his Government, has only had in view during the whole of this negotiation to seek the friendly concurrence of His Sardinian Majesty, in order to put an end to the precarious situation of the Sovereign Head of the Church, cannot but congratulate himself on the great progress already made towards a complete agreement between the two Governments as to the manner of considering this grave question, and more especially upon a proceeding, the spirit of which is so entirely in accordance with the purely religious object which Her Catholic Majesty's Government has in view.

But the Minister for Foreign Affairs, although he admits that the Pope in his character of Spiritual Prince is under the natural protection of the Catholic Powers, although he does not reject armed intervention in the event of the insufficiency of conciliatory measures, does not however recognize in other Powers besides the States of the Italian Peninsula, the rights which are deducible from that principle.

The Undersigned, however, does not see any argument which would authorize the limitation to those States of the application of a general principle, or the exclusion of other Powers which, being connected by the same Catholic principles with the Holy Father, are on a perfect equality in their relations with the Pontifical States, whatever may be their respective geographical position, or the difference in their several interests in a temporal point of view.

While thoroughly respecting the feeling which prompts the Minister for Foreign Affairs to invoke on this head the principles of Italian nationality, the Undersigned must observe to him that that nationality neither exists *de jure* nor *de facto*, and that the Roman State, according to the present political organization of the Peninsula, as a sovereign State, is as independent of Piedmont as it is of any other foreign country. Special interests may be admitted to exist which may render the relations between the different Governments of Italy more intimate, but as that intimacy of relations does not destroy the fact of their independence, the question of right must still continue to be the same for all Catholic States without distinction. Considerations of locality, of policy, of material interests, in nowise alter the nature of that right. So long as Italy does not form one single nation, subject to one single Government, so long as the Papal States are not an Italian province, the support offered to the Sovereign Pontiff can have been offered only in the interests of religion, and in that case the right of every Catholic Power to offer its co-operation can no longer be called in question.

All the Catholic Powers being equally interested, all should be equally summoned to the defence of the religious authority and of the sacred person of the Sovereign Head of the Church; and this application of the principle, which is the fairest one, is also the most expedient one, since the co-operation of the Catholic Powers once accepted in the manner laid down as desired by the Spanish Government, no partial or isolated influence would then predominate, no spirit of local rivalry would intrude itself to raise up new obstacles, or perhaps even to pervert the question.

The Undersigned confines himself to calling the attention of the Minister for Foreign Affairs to this point, and he trusts from the good faith which the Government of His Sardinian Majesty has evinced throughout this negotiation, that it will no longer have any difficulty, when once the principle has been admitted, in coming to an agreement with the Spanish Government in the strict and consistent application thereof.

The Sardinian Government from its strong desire to put an end to the distressing position of the Pontiff, has not hesitated to act with all the zeal and activity which the seriousness of the case required. Although in the first place it merely thought it necessary, with a praiseworthy feeling of conciliation, to have recourse to friendly mediation, to partial and isolated negotiations, it is now eager under the pressure of graver circumstances, and in spite of the limits which it laid down for itself, to offer to His Holiness the support of physical force. This frank and noble conduct affords grounds for trusting that the Sardinian Cabinet, perceiving how very right and advisable it is that it should not be excluded from the action of the other Powers in this matter, will doubtless decide to act entirely in concert with them, by fully accepting, as the Neapolitan Government has done, the proposition of the Spanish Cabinet, which having only in view the great religious principle, independently of all political considerations, has not had (according to purely confidential information) the slightest objection to tendering its most hearty co-operation.

The Undersigned must not conclude his reply without begging the Minister for Foreign Affairs to be good enough to fix his attention upon the several parts of his note in which he speaks of the object of the mission of the Spanish squadron to Gaeta. It is therein stated, in the clearest and most precise manner, what that object is, which moreover is very simply explained by the presence in the same port of considerable naval forces of other Catholic Governments, placed, if public rumour is to be credited, under the immediate orders of His Holiness.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

MANUEL BERTRAN DE LIS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 73.

M. Gioberti to M. Bertran de Lis.

Turin, 19 Janvier, 1849.

LE Soussigné, &c., a reçu la note que M. Bertran de Lis, &c., lui a fait l'honneur de lui adresser le 17, en réponse à la sienne du 15 de ce mois. Il regrette vivement de ne pouvoir être d'accord avec lui sur les points principaux de cette communication, et c'est avec douleur qu'il a vu que M. le Ministre Plénipotentiaire d'Espagne met en doute des principes sur lesquels le Cabinet Sardé ne peut en aucune manière transiger.

Le Soussigné en admettant le principe que le Pape, en sa qualité de Prince spirituel, est sous la protection naturelle de tous les Gouvernemens et de tous les peuples Catholiques, n'a pas voulu l'admettre seulement en théorie, mais aussi en pratique. S'en suit-il que pour le mettre en pratique on doive reconnaître comme légitime l'intervention armée de tous les Gouvernemens et de tous les peuples en faveur de l'autorité spirituelle du Pontife? Non certainement, car cette intervention toute matérielle serait opposée de sa nature au pouvoir spirituel qu'elle aurait pour but de soutenir, et ne pourrait que le déshonorer et l'avilir. Cela ne veut pas dire cependant qu'on ne puisse pas, par des moyens convenables, mettre en pratique ce protectorat universel; il sera sans doute assez bien assuré si les Gouvernemens et les peuples Catholiques employent dans cette vue leur influence morale, leurs conseils, l'action pacifique et toute spirituelle d'une diplomatie bien entendue, et c'est précisément ce moyen que le Soussigné a eu l'honneur de proposer dans sa note du 6 de ce mois à M. le Chevalier Bertran de Lis, au lieu d'une intervention armée.

Quant au pouvoir temporel du Pape, le Soussigné croit devoir répéter que quoique très légitime et très respectable, il est purement humain et ne peut être, à moins d'une grave erreur, confondu avec le pouvoir spirituel. La protection naturelle de tous les peuples Catholiques à l'égard du Souverain Pontife ne peut donc en aucune manière s'étendre à son pouvoir temporel. Doit-on en inférer que ce pouvoir temporel soit sans protection et sans garantie? Non, mais ces garanties doivent être proportionnées à sa nature et telles qu'elles ne puissent blesser d'autres pouvoirs également légitimes. Or le Pape, comme Prince temporel, étant un Prince Italien, il est évident que les Gouvernemens seuls de la Péninsule peuvent intervenir militairement en sa faveur, sans que leurs droits particuliers, la nationalité et l'indépendance, aient à s'en ressentir.

Le Soussigné ne doit pas dissimuler à M. Bertran de Lis, l'extrême surprise qu'il a éprouvée en lisant dans sa note que le principe de la nationalité Italienne n'existe ni de droit ni de fait, et que l'Etat Romain, d'après l'organisation politique actuelle de la Péninsule, comme Etat Souverain, est à l'égard du Piémont aussi indépendant qu'envers tout autre pays étranger. Le Soussigné tient à honneur de déclarer que la nationalité et l'indépendance Italienne existent non seulement de droit, mais qu'elles en constituent un imprescriptible et fondamental, qui est la base de tous les autres droits nationaux. Il se croit en devoir d'ajouter que le Cabinet de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne ne permettra jamais qu'on révoque en doute un droit aussi incontestable, et qu'il ne pourrait conserver des relations amicales avec un Gouvernement étranger qui oserait le méconnaître, car cette contestation seule est une injure pour celui de Sa Majesté et une calomnie manifeste dirigée contre sa conduite politique.

En effet la nationalité, d'après les principes du droit moderne, est le droit le plus sacré des Gouvernemens et des peuples; loin de dépendre des institutions politiques, il en est lui-même la base. Une nation peut manquer d'unité politique et posséder néanmoins sa nationalité et son indépendance; l'Allemagne offre un exemple de cette vérité, car si cette nationalité et cette indépendance lui sont ravies par la force, elle est en droit de les reconquérir en tout temps et à tout prix, puisqu'aucune prescription n'existe contre un droit aussi juste et aussi légitime.

La guerre que le Piémont soutient contre l'Autriche est un exemple de ce qui vient d'être avancé. Si l'Autriche était une province et l'Empereur son

Souverain un Prince d'Italie, le Royaume Lombard-Vénitien serait aussi légitime que ceux de Naples et de Sardaigne. L'illégitimité du sceptre que l'Autriche tient en Italie consiste donc en ce qu'il s'oppose à l'indépendance et à la nationalité Italienne, car le chef de l'Empire et ses peuples naturels étant divisés de nous par tous les caractères qui distinguent les nationalités différentes, la domination Autrichienne ne peut subsister en Italie sans que la nationalité de ce pays soit atteinte au cœur. De là la légitimité de la guerre que le Piémont fait à l'Autriche, aux applaudissemens de toute l'Europe civilisée, et en particulier de la nation Espagnole, qui l'a honorée plusieurs fois de ses vœux et de ses sympathies.

La nationalité Italienne existe donc de droit, puisqu'elle autorise le Roi de Sardaigne à combattre les ennemis de cette nationalité. Mais si elle s'oppose à ce que les étrangers possèdent notre territoire, pourra-t-elle leur permettre de l'envahir et de l'occuper même momentanément par le fait d'une intervention armée ? Non, sans doute, car le droit national est également violé dans l'un et dans l'autre cas. La seule hypothèse dans laquelle une semblable intervention pourrait être admise serait celle d'un consentement exprès de tous les Etats Italiens.

Quant à ce que M. le Ministre Plénipotentiaire d'Espagne affirme, c'est à dire que l'indépendance du Pape est entière et complète, le Soussigné admet cette assertion dans ce sens que l'indépendance du Pontife n'a aucune limite politique. Mais il croit qu'elle doit être subordonnée au principe et au droit supérieur de la nationalité et de l'indépendance Italienne, droit qui, comme il vient d'être dit, domine tous les autres en même temps qu'il en est la base. Ainsi le Pape, quoique Prince indépendant, n'a pas le droit d'appeler les étrangers dans son pays, sans le consentement des autres Princes Italiens. Ce principe a pu être ignoré ou violé dans le moyen âge, alors que l'élément des nationalités Européennes n'était pas développé et reconnu, mais de nos jours il forme la base du droit international qui lie entre eux les membres d'une seule nation politiquement divisée en plusieurs Etats.

Le Soussigné croit devoir insister sur ce point parce qu'il lui semble être de la plus haute importance, et aussi parce qu'il espère avec une confiance égale à celle qu'il place dans la sagesse éclairée du Cabinet de Madrid et dans ses bienveillantes dispositions pour nous, que le Ministre Plénipotentiaire d'Espagne voudra bien expliquer d'une manière conforme à l'honneur de notre pays quelques assertions blessantes qui auront échappé à sa plume.

M. Bertran de Lis a ajouté dans sa note que tant que l'Italie ne formera pas une seule nation soumise à un seul Gouvernement, tant que les Etats du Pape ne seront pas une province Italienne, l'intervention armée des Puissances Etrangères en faveur des droits temporels du Pontife ne peut être mise en question.

Le Soussigné doit aussi protester contre ces étranges expressions, qui tendent à bouleverser tous nos droits et à détruire notre nationalité. L'erreur de cette assertion découle des observations précédentes ; elle est fondée sur une confusion inadmissible de la nationalité d'un peuple avec les institutions politiques qui le régissent. La fausseté en a été suffisamment démontrée.

Le Soussigné croit encore devoir, avant de terminer, rappeler à M. le Ministre d'Espagne que le but éminemment religieux du Cabinet de Madrid, c'est-à-dire le rétablissement du Pape dans son indépendance spirituelle, ne peut être atteint que par une intervention morale et conciliatrice de la diplomatie des Puissances Catholiques dont il a déjà eu l'honneur de l'entretenir dans sa première note. Il prie en conséquence M. Bertran de Lis de vouloir bien persuader le Cabinet de Sa Majesté Catholique de la convenance d'entrer dans cette voie pour le succès de laquelle il trouvera la coopération la plus zélée de la part du Gouvernement du Roi, et d'abandonner l'idée de toute mesure coercitive, contre laquelle le Soussigné se croira toujours en devoir de protester énergiquement en face de l'Europe. Si dans tous les cas une intervention matérielle était nécessaire, la haute sagesse et l'esprit souverainement religieux du Cabinet Espagnol devraient le porter à appuyer de ses conseils la mesure d'une intervention purement Italienne qui assurerait parfaitement les droits sacrés du Pontife, tout en garantissant notre nationalité.

Le Cabinet du Roi étant disposé à adopter cette mesure, si elle est nécessaire, que le Gouvernement Espagnol use de son influence afin de réunir au Piémont

pour l'exécution de ce projet, Naples et la Toscane, et il sura la gloire de concourir au but si désirable et si saint qu'il se propose, sans blesser les droits inviolables, imprescriptibles, de la nationalité Italienne.

Enfin le Soussigné exprime l'espoir que les observations franches et justes qu'il vient d'adresser à M. Bertran de Lis porteront dans son esprit la conviction que les principes et les droits qu'il a dû défendre contre des assertions qui les mettaient en doute, sont parfaitement établis. Il se plaît aussi à penser que le Gouvernement Espagnol, accueillant avec un esprit de justice et de conciliation le moyen qui est proposé, donnera ainsi un gage de son dévouement à la religion et au maintien de la tranquillité générale, en même temps qu'il montrera son désir de seconder le vœu du Gouvernement du Roi d'entretenir les relations les plus amicales avec celui de Sa Majesté Catholique.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé)

GIOBERTI.

(Translation.)

Turin, January 19, 1849.

THE Undersigned, &c., has received the note which M. Bertran de Lis, &c., did him the honour to address to him on the 17th, in answer to his of the 15th of this month. He deeply laments that he cannot agree with him on the principal points of that communication, and it is with regret that he has observed that the Minister Plenipotentiary of Spain lays down principles on which the Sardinian Government can in no wise act.

The Undersigned in admitting the principle that the Pope, in his character of Spiritual Prince, is under the natural protection of all Catholic Governments and nations, has wished not only to admit it in theory but likewise in practice. Does it follow therefrom, that in order to put it in practice it is necessary to recognize the legality of the armed intervention of all Governments, and of all nations, in favour of the spiritual authority of the Pontiff? Certainly not; for that intervention being thoroughly material would be in its very nature opposed to the spiritual power which it was its object to uphold, and could only dishonour and degrade it. This does not imply that this universal protectorate may not by suitable means be put in practice; it will doubtless be thoroughly established, if the Catholic Governments and nations employ with that view their moral influence, their counsels, and the peaceful and purely spiritual action of a well-regulated diplomacy; and these are precisely the means which the Undersigned had the honour, in his note of the 6th of this month, to propose to the Chevalier Bertran de Lis, in lieu of an armed intervention.

As regards the temporal power of the Pope, the Undersigned thinks it right to repeat that although quite legitimate and thoroughly respectable, still it is merely human, and cannot without a grave error be confounded with the spiritual power. The natural protection of all Catholic nations in favour of the Sovereign Pontiff cannot therefore in any wise extend to his temporal power. Must it be inferred from this that that temporal power is to be without protection and without defence? No; but such defence must be in accordance with its real character, and such as shall not prejudice other powers equally legitimate. Now, the Pope, as a temporal Prince, being an Italian Prince, it is evident that the Governments of the Peninsula alone can interfere in his favour in a military manner, without their individual rights, nationality, and independence suffering any prejudice.

The Undersigned must not conceal from M. Bertran de Lis the extreme surprise which he felt at reading in his note that the principle of Italian nationality exists neither *de facto* nor *de jure*, and that the Roman States, according to the present political organization of the Peninsula, as a Sovereign State is as independent of Piedmont as of any other foreign country. The Undersigned considers himself bound in honour to declare that Italian nationality and independence exist not only *de jure*, but that they form an imprescriptible and fundamental right, which is the basis of all other national rights. He thinks it his duty to add that the Cabinet of His Majesty the King of Sardinia cannot allow so undeniable a right to be called in question, and that it cannot preserve friendly relations with a foreign Government who should dare to deny its existence; for

that very denial is in itself an insult to the Government of His Majesty, and a manifest calumny directed against its political conduct.

Indeed nationality, according to the principles of modern law, is the most sacred right of Governments and nations; far from depending upon political institutions, it is itself the basis of them. A nation may be deficient in political unity, and yet nevertheless possess its nationality and its independence; Germany affords an example of that fact, for if that nationality and that independence are torn from her by force, she has a right to reconquer them at any time, and at any cost, because no prescription exists against so just and so legitimate a right.

The war which Piedmont is waging against Austria is an example of what has just been advanced. If Austria were a province and the Emperor its Sovereign an Italian Prince, the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom would be as legitimate as those of Naples and of Sardinia. The illegality of the sceptre which Austria wields in Italy consists then in its being opposed to Italian independence and nationality, for the head of the empire and his natural subjects being distinguished from us by all the characteristics which mark different nationalities, the Austrian domination cannot exist in Italy without the nationality of this country being wounded to the heart. Hence the legality of the war which Piedmont is making against Austria, amid the applause of the whole of civilized Europe, and in particular of the Spanish nation which has several times honoured it with the expression of its good wishes and of its sympathy.

Italian nationality exists then *de jure*, since it authorizes the King of Sardinia to combat the enemies of that nationality. But if it is opposed to foreigners possessing our territory, can it permit them to invade it, and to occupy it, even temporarily, by the act of an armed intervention? Doubtlessly not, for national right is equally violated in either case. The only supposition in which such an intervention could be admitted, would be that of an express assent on the part of all the Italian States.

As for what the Minister Plenipotentiary of Spain affirms, namely, that the Pope's independence is entire and complete, the Undersigned admits that assertion in the sense that the independence of the Pontiff has no political limits. But he considers that it must be subordinate to the superior principle and right of Italian nationality and independence, a right which, as has just been said, is paramount to all others, at the same time that it is the basis of them. So that the Pope, although an independent Prince, has not the right to call foreigners into his country without the consent of the other Italian Princes. This principle may have been unknown or violated in the middle ages, at a time when the element of European nationalities was not developed or recognized; but in our time it forms the basis of the international right which links together the members of a single nation which is politically divided into several States.

The Undersigned thinks it his duty to lay great stress upon this point, because it appears to him to be of the very greatest importance, and also because he hopes with confidence equal to that which he places in the enlightened wisdom of the Cabinet of Madrid, and in its friendly dispositions towards us, that the Minister Plenipotentiary of Spain will have the goodness to explain in a manner conformable to the honour of our country certain offensive expressions which have escaped from his pen.

M. Bertran de Lis has added, in his note, that so long as Italy does not form one single nation submitted to one single Government, so long as the Papal States are not an Italian province, the armed intervention of foreign Powers in favour of the temporal rights of the Pontiff cannot be called in question.

The Undersigned must also protest against these strange expressions, which tend to overthrow all our rights, and to destroy our nationality. The error of that assertion results from the preceding observations; it is founded upon an inadmissible confusion of the nationality of a people with the political institutions which govern it. Its falsity has been sufficiently demonstrated.

The Undersigned thinks it also right, before concluding, to remind the Minister of Spain that the eminently religious design of the Cabinet of Madrid, namely, the re-establishment of the Pope in his spiritual independence, can only be attained by a moral and conciliatory intervention of the diplomacy of the

Catholic Powers, which he had the honour of mentioning to him in his first note. He therefore begs M. Bertran de Lis to be good enough to persuade Her Catholic Majesty's Government of the expediency of entering upon that course, for the good success of which it will find the most zealous co-operation on the part of the King's Government, and to abandon the notion of any coercive measure, against which the Undersigned will always consider himself bound energetically to protest in the face of Europe. If in any case a material intervention should be necessary, the profound wisdom and the eminently religious feeling of the Spanish Cabinet should induce it to support with its councils the measure of a purely Italian intervention, which would thoroughly secure the sacred rights of the Pontiff, at the same time that it would secure our nationality.

The King's Government being ready to adopt this measure, should it be necessary, let the Spanish Government use its influence in order to unite Naples and Tuscany with Piedmont in the execution of this project, and it will then have the glory of co-operating in the desirable and holy object which it has in view, without prejudice to the inviolable, imprescriptible rights of Italian nationality.

Finally, the Undersigned has to express the hope that the frank and just observations which have been addressed to M. Bertran de Lis, will carry to his mind the conviction that the principles and rights which he has had to defend against assertions which called them in question, are perfectly established. He flatters himself also with the idea that the Spanish Government, accepting in a spirit of justice and of conciliation the means which are proposed, will thus give a pledge of its devotion to religion and to the maintenance of the general tranquillity, at the same time that it will evince its desire of reciprocating the anxious wish of the King's Government to maintain the most friendly relations with the Government of Her Catholic Majesty.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) GIOBERTI.

No. 74.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 1.)

(Extract.)

Turin, January 25, 1849.

THE returns made at the general election that has just terminated are now pretty generally known.

Their character cannot be mistaken, and it is already evident that the Democratic party in the Chamber will greatly predominate.

Of the Members of the late Government neither General Perron, nor Signor Pincelli, nor Count Revel, have been re-elected, and the same fate has attended the most prominent leaders of the Moderate party and the supporters of the late Administration.

According to the calculations which I have heard made by individuals more conversant with the opinions and characters of the members returned than I am, it would appear that up to the present moment the Conservative party in the Chamber, inclusive of the Deputies from Savoy, amounts barely to one-fourth, the remaining three-fourths being made up of persons elected under the influence of the Democratic Committee.

The success of the endeavours of the leaders of the Democratic party in the provinces has been even greater than was to have been expected.

One circumstance that has particularly marked the course of these elections is the general cry that has been raised against any candidate connected with the aristocracy of the country, whether of birth or property. Candidates of either of those classes, however liberal their political opinions were known to be, have met generally with decided opposition, and they have been but very partially successful in their elections.

The result is, that the individuals selected to represent these Democratic constituencies have been principally chosen from amongst the small country lawyers, the frequenters of country clubs and coffee-houses, of political emigrants from

the Duchies, Lombardy, and the Venetian provinces, and some of the most violent of the country clergy.

A Chamber so composed, and void of any counterbalancing influence, offers but little security for the moderation of its deliberations.

No. 75.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord,

Turin, January 26, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship the concluding notes of the correspondence which has taken place between my Spanish colleague at this Court and M. Gioberti relative to the intervention of the foreign Catholic Powers in favour of the Pope.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 75.

M. Bertran de Lis to M. Gioberti.

Turin, 21 Janvier, 1849.

LE Soussigné, &c., a reçu la note que M. Gioberti, &c., lui a adressée en date du 19 de ce mois; et considérant que M. Gioberti par des citations de phrases détachées a tout-à-fait dénaturé la pensée du Soussigné, en lui donnant une interprétation erronée et violente, puisque les mots "d'après l'organisation actuelle," et "l'Italie ne formant pas une seule nation soumise à un seul Gouvernement," ainsi que le reste du paragraphe qui contient le développement de la proposition qui en est la base, auraient dû suffire pour mettre en évidence que le Soussigné ne pouvait parler d'autre nationalité que de la nationalité politique, ni d'autre droit, que du droit international, et même du droit international positif qui, tant qu'il existe, est la loi des Gouvernemens dans leurs rapports mutuels;

Et considérant aussi que la note de M. Gioberti est conçue dans un langage dont quelques phrases pourraient être comprises en un sens peu conforme aux convenances diplomatiques, le Soussigné doit se borner à déclarer qu'il ne peut pas entrer dans l'examen de la note sus-mentionnée, et qu'il sera forcé dans ses communications avec M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, à se tenir dans les limites de la plus stricte réserve, à moins qu'il n'en reçoive des explications franches et complètes.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé) BERTRAN DE LIS.

(Translation.)

Turin, January 21, 1849.

THE Undersigned, &c., has received the note which M. Gioberti, &c., addressed to him on the 19th of this month; and being of opinion that M. Gioberti, by the quotation of detached sentences, has entirely perverted the meaning of the Undersigned by putting an erroneous and forced interpretation upon them,—for the words "according to the present organization," and "Italy not forming one single nation subject to one single Government," as well as the rest of the paragraph which contains the development of the principle which is the basis of it, ought to have been sufficient clearly to prove that the Undersigned could not be speaking of any other nationality than political nationality,

nor of any other right than international right, and even of that established international right which so long as it shall exist is the law of Governments in their mutual relations ;

And considering also that M. Gioberti's note is couched in language certain phrases of which might be understood in a sense but little consonant with diplomatic courtesy, the Undersigned must confine himself to stating that he cannot enter upon the discussion of the aforesaid note, and that he shall be compelled to keep within the limits of the strictest reserve in his communications with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, unless he receives a full and satisfactory explanation of such language.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

BERTRAN DE LIS.

Inclosure 2 in No. 75.

M. Gioberti to M. Bertran de Lis.

Turin, le 22 Janvier, 1849.

LE Soussigné, &c., a reçu la note que M. Bertran de Lis, &c., lui a adressée en date du 21 de ce mois

Le Soussigné déclare qu'en donnant à la note précédente de M. Bertran de Lis la signification dont il se plaint, il n'a pas cru s'éloigner du sens naturel des mots tels qu'ils sont reçus dans l'usage ordinaire de la diplomatie. Il prend la liberté de mettre à cet effet sous les yeux de M. Bertran de Lis le passage suivant de cette note : " Tout en respectant ce sentiment, qui porte M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères à invoquer à ce sujet le principe de la nationalité Italienne, le Soussigné doit lui faire observer que cette nationalité n'existe ni de droit ni de fait, et que l'Erat Romain, d'après l'organisation politique actuelle de la Péninsule, comme Etat Souverain, est à l'égard du Piémont aussi indépendant qu'envers tout autre pays étranger. Il peut exister des intérêts spéciaux qui rendent les rapports entre les divers Gouvernemens de l'Italie plus intimes, si l'on veut ; mais toujours est-il que cette intimité des relations ne détruisant pas le fait de l'indépendance, la question de droit reste la même pour tous les Etats Catholiques sans distinction. Les motifs de localité, de politique, d'intérêt matériel, ne changent en rien la nature de ce droit."

Le Soussigné n'a pas cru donner une interprétation erronée et violente à ces mots, en les prenant comme une dénégation de la nationalité Italienne dans le sens naturel de ce mot, d'autant plus que le contexte lui paraissait favoriser cette explication. Car M. Bertran de Lis, en ajoutant que les Princes Italiens ont entre eux les mêmes rapports de droit qu'avec les Princes étrangers, il s'ensuit que la nationalité Italienne n'existe point ; car dans le cas contraire cette nationalité, en assurant notre indépendance intérieure à l'égard de l'étranger, doit y apporter des bornes en tant que dans leurs rapports réciproques les différens Etats Italiens doivent respecter la nationalité et l'indépendance commune.

Le Soussigné s'est cru d'autant plus autorisé à embrasser cette interprétation qu'elle lui paraissait conforme aux notes précédentes de M. le Ministre d'Espagne ; en effet, dans la note du 13 Janvier il s'exprime en ces termes : " Le Pape, en sa qualité de Prince spirituel, est sous la protection naturelle de tous les Gouvernemens et de tous peuples Catholiques. Ce principe est admis par tous les Gouvernemens, et celui de Sa Majesté Sarde ne le méconnaît pas non plus. C'est dans l'intérêt de ce principe qu'existe la puissance temporelle du Pape ; c'est dans le but de procurer le libre exercice de l'autorité spirituelle que des Etats propres à lui assurer une existence politique indépendante lui ont été assignés. Sous ce point de vue le Pape n'est pas un Prince Romain ; il n'est pas un Prince Italien, il n'appartient à aucun pays en particulier." Dans ce passage le Soussigné a cru voir exposer une doctrine qui brise tous les liens nationaux de l'Italie, en excluant de l'unité Italienne cette Rome qui en est la partie la plus précieuse et dont le Pape a la possession temporelle et légitime par un droit tout-à-fait semblable à celui des autres Princes Italiens. Le Soussigné fait ces remarques, non pas pour insister sur son interprétation précédente, mais

pour justifier le langage respectueux, mais énergique, dont il s'est servi à cet égard. M. Bertran de Lis a trop de sagesse et de patriotisme pour ne pas apprécier la juste susceptibilité du Cabinet du Roi de Sardaigne sur un point qui est la base de toute sa politique et la source principale de ses droits sacrés. Le Soussigné pense même que si son Gouvernement se montrait moins délicat à cet égard, il serait moins digne de la bienveillance et de l'estime du Cabinet Espagnol et de la nation généreuse dont il régit les destinées.

L'explication que M. le Chevalier Bertran de Lis a bien voulu donner à ses notes précédentes, en disant que sous le mot de nationalité il entendait l'unité du Gouvernement, et qu'en conséquence il n'a voulu émettre aucun doute sur la nationalité Italienne, satisfait pleinement le Soussigné, il n'hésite pas en conséquence à retirer la protestation dont il avait cru devoir faire usage, et qui, étant fondée sur une interprétation différente, avait une valeur purement conditionnelle.

Le Soussigné désire que cet incident rende toujours plus intime la sympathie qui unit les deux Cabinets et les deux nations, et il saisit cette occasion, &c.

(Signé) GIOBERTI.

(Translation.)

Turin, January 29, 1849.

THE Undersigned, &c., has received the note which M. Bertran de Lis, &c., addressed to him under date of the 21st of this month.

The Undersigned declares that in attaching to M. Bertran de Lis's former note the interpretation of which he complains, he did not consider he was deviating from the natural meaning of the words such as they are understood in the ordinary usages of diplomacy. He takes the liberty, therefore, on this point to bring under the notice of M. Bertran de Lis the following passage in that note: "While thoroughly respecting the feeling which prompts the Minister for Foreign Affairs to invoke on this head the principles of Italian nationality, the Undersigned must observe to him that that nationality neither exists *de jure* nor *de facto*, and that the Roman State, according to the present political organization of the Peninsula, as a Sovereign State, is as independent of Piedmont as of any other foreign country. Special interests may be admitted to exist which may render the relations between the various Governments of Italy more intimate; but as that intimacy of relations does not destroy the fact of their independence, the question of right must still remain the same for all Catholic States without distinction. Considerations of locality, of policy, of material interest, in no wise alter the nature of that right."

The Undersigned did not think he was putting an erroneous and forced interpretation upon those words by understanding them as a denial of Italian nationality, according to the natural signification of that word, and the less so as the context appeared to him to warrant such an interpretation of them. For as M. Bertran de Lis adds that the Italian Princes possess among themselves the same relations of right as they have with foreign Princes, it follows from thence that Italian nationality does not exist; for otherwise that nationality, by securing our internal independence with reference to foreigners, would fix bounds to such independence, inasmuch as in their reciprocal relations with each other, the Italian States must respect the common nationality and independence.

The Undersigned thought himself the more warranted in accepting this interpretation, because it appeared to him to be in consonance with the preceding notes of the Minister of Spain; indeed in the note of the 13th of January, he expresses himself in these terms: "The Pope, in his character of spiritual Prince, is under the natural protection of all Catholic Governments and nations. This principle is admitted by all Governments; neither does the Government of His Sardinian Majesty repudiate it. It is in pursuance of this principle that the temporal power of the Pope exists; it was with the view of obtaining the free exercise of his spiritual authority that States calculated to secure to him an independent political existence were assigned to him. In this point of view the Pope is not a Roman Prince; he is not an Italian Prince; he belongs to no country in particular." In this passage the Undersigned thought he perceived a doctrine laid down which breaks asunder all the national bonds of Italy, by excluding from Italian unity that Rome, which is the most precious

element in it, and of which the Pope has the temporal and legitimate possession by a right entirely analogous to that of the other Italian Princes. The Undersigned makes these remarks, not with the view of insisting upon his former interpretation, but in order to justify the respectful but energetic language which he employed with regard to it. M. Bertran de Lis has too much wisdom and patriotism not to appreciate the just susceptibility of the Cabinet of the King of Sardinia upon a point which is the basis of the whole of his policy and the principal source of his sacred rights. The Undersigned even thinks that if his Government had shown itself less sensitive upon this point, it would be less worthy of the friendship and of the esteem of the Spanish Cabinet, and of the generous nation whose destinies it rules.

The explanation which M. Bertran de Lis has had the goodness to give of his former notes, by saying that by the word nationality he meant unity of Government, and that consequently he had no intention of casting any doubt upon Italian nationality, is thoroughly satisfactory to the Undersigned; he has consequently no hesitation in withdrawing the protest which he thought himself called upon to make, and which, being founded upon a different interpretation, possessed a value merely conditional.

The Undersigned hopes that this incident may render still more intimate the sympathy which unites the two Cabinets and the two nations, and he avails himself of this opportunity, &c.

(Signed) GIOBERTI.

No. 76.

Circular of Count Montecuscoli to the Provincial Delegates.

Milan, ce 3 Janvier, 1849.

LE Conseil des Ministres a pris la résolution de convoquer à Vienne une Assemblée des Députés de toutes les Provinces Lombardo-Vénitiennes, afin de profiter de ses conseils pour appliquer aussi à ces provinces les principes exprimés dans son programme du 27 Novembre dernier et dirigés dans la substance à accorder à tous les peuples de la Monarchie ces libres institutions qui puissent en garantir la nationalité, en conservant à la fois l'intégrité de la Monarchie.

Vous en avertirez immédiatement, M. le Délégué, le collège provincial, et vous l'inviterez à se réunir entre l'huitaine au plus tard en séance régulière pour élire un individu qui ait toute sa confiance, qui devra se rendre à l'Assemblée de Vienne.

Le Ministère se confiant aux sentimens loyaux des collèges provinciaux et à leur zèle de coopérer de toutes leurs forces au bien de leur patrie, leur laisse entièrement libre le choix du représentant provincial respectif.

Mais afin qu'on puisse connaître l'importance des questions que le Ministère se propose de résoudre avec la coopération de l'Assemblée des Députés de ces provinces, je vais exposer ici les considérations qui formeront la base des délibérations relatives.

Le premier élément d'une administration libre du pays est constitué par les franchises communales qui se manifestent dans la libre exécution de ses affaires par ses représentans librement choisis.

Le Royaume Lombardo-Vénitien jouit d'une organisation communale appuyée aux principes libéraux en vertu de la Patente Souveraine 12 Février, 1816. Il s'agit donc de faire valoir ces principes dans toute leur force, d'en assurer l'exécution pratique et de les accommoder aux principes d'une Monarchie une et constitutionnelle.

Les franchises communales doivent s'étendre à toute la hiérarchie des représentations diverses. Par conséquent les collèges provinciaux et les représentations locales seront libres pour leurs affaires intérieures qui constituent la sphère de leur propre activité, en ce que ces affaires puissent être exécutées dans leurs confins respectifs sans choc des intérêts de l'Etat et sans lésion des droits des autres communes ou des attributions des représentations supérieures.

L'activité des représentations communales supérieures s'étend au territoire respectif. Par conséquent les affaires qui intéressent plusieurs communes ou la province entière sont de leur compétence. De même il leur appartient de surveiller les administrations inférieures afin que leurs dispositions soient toujours dirigées au plus grand bien-être de leurs administrés et que leurs droits foudés dans les lois ne soient pas infirmés.

Le système donc de l'administration communale et provinciale actuellement en vigueur doit être réformé et perfectionné d'après ces principes, et l'administration nationale aura des garanties pour les intérêts intérieurs des provinces. Pour le reste les provinces continueront à former une partie intégrale de la Monarchie, qui aura à sa tête un fort pouvoir central, mais les provinces concourront à avoir part dans la législation et à fortifier la Monarchie comme un corps indivisible.

Aussi je ne doute pas que cette congrégation provinciale se hâtera de procéder à l'élection des représentants qu'on doit envoyer à Vienne, et que son choix tombera sur un individu qui par sa capacité, par ses lumières et par la probité et loyauté de ses principes, soit à même de prêter des services utiles à la patrie.

Le représentant choisi devra se rendre vers la fin de ce mois dans la capitale de l'Empire et annoncer immédiatement son arrivée à M. le Ministre de l'Intérieur, Comte de Stadion.

D'après sa demande la congrégation provinciale pourra lui accorder sur les fonds provinciaux les compétences de la 6^{me} classe, pour les frais de voyage et pour l'indemnité pendant le temps de sa mission, et lui faire payer ce à compte 300 florins.

Vous ne tarderez un instant, M. le Délégué, à me renseigner sur l'individu qui sera nommé.

(Sigoé)

MONTECUCOLI

(Translation.)

Milan, January 3, 1849.

THE Council of Ministers has come to the determination of convoking at Vienna a meeting of the Deputies of all the Lombardo-Venetian territories, in order to profit by their advice in applying to those provinces the principles expressed in its programme of the 27th of November last, and intended in their substance to grant to all the people of the monarchy those free institutions which may guarantee their nationality whilst they secure the integrity of the monarchy.

You will immediately, M. le Délégué, give notice of this to the provincial college, and you will request it to meet within a week at latest in regular assembly, in order to elect an individual who may possess their complete confidence, whose duty it will be to go to the Assembly at Vienna.

The Ministers, trusting in the loyal feelings of the provincial colleges, and in their zeal to co-operate as much as they are able towards the well-being of their country, leaves entirely free to them the choice of each provincial representative.

But in order that the importance of the questions which Government proposes to settle with the co-operation of the Assembly of Deputies of these provinces may be understood, I will here explain the considerations which will form the basis of deliberation.

The first element of a free government of the country is constituted by the communal franchises, which show themselves in the free administration of their affairs on the part of their representatives, freely chosen.

The Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom is in the enjoyment of a communal organization founded on liberal principles, by virtue of the sovereign patent dated February 12, 1816. It is therefore now necessary to give to those principles their full force, to secure their practical execution, and to accommodate them to the principles of a single and constitutional monarchy.

The communal franchises are to extend to all the hierarchy of the different representations. Consequently the provincial colleges and the local representations will be free as regards internal affairs, which are the sphere of their own labours, so far as those affairs can be managed in their respective districts without

danger to State interests, and without injury to the rights of other communes or to the attributes of superior representations.

The powers of the superior communal representations extend to the respective territories; consequently affairs which interest several communes or the entire province, are within their competence. In like manner it rests with them to watch over the inferior administrations in order that their arrangements may be always directed towards the greatest good of those for whom they are acting, and that their rights, founded in law, may not become weakened.

The system, then, of communal and provincial administration at present in force is to be reformed and brought to perfection according to these principles, and the national administration will have guarantees for the interests of the provinces. In other respects the provinces will continue to form an integral portion of the monarchy, which will have at its head a strong central power, but the provinces will take a share in legislation and in strengthening the monarchy as an indivisible body.

I do not doubt that this provincial congregation will hasten to elect the representatives who are to go to Vienna, and that its choice will fall on an individual who by his capacities and information, and by the honesty and loyalty of his principles will be able to perform useful service to our country.

The representative selected will have to proceed towards the end of the month to the capital of the empire, and immediately to announce his arrival to the Minister of the Interior, Count Stadion.

On his making a demand to that effect, the Provincial Congregation may grant to him out of the provincial funds, the allowances of the sixth class for the expenses of his journey and for his expenses during his mission, and may pay him 300 florins on account.

You will not delay a moment, M. le Délégué, in acquainting me with the person who shall be nominated.

(Signed) MONTECUCOLI.

No. 77.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 1.)

(Extract.)

Turin, January 26, 1849.

VARIOUS rumours have reached me of an intention on the part of the Austrians to attack Venice, and the different movements of troops which have recently taken place in Lombardy, although not all directed in a positive manner upon the point supposed to be about to be threatened, may still have been calculated with reference to such a plan.

Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Milan has already reported to your Lordship the movement of 15 battalions and 75 pieces of artillery from Milan in the direction of Crema and Cremona, and accounts have been received here which lead to the belief that a concentration of Austrian troops is making towards the frontiers of the Duchies and in the vicinity of Padua.

Towards the frontiers of this country the strength of the Austrian line has been considerably reduced, which would lead to infer that for the moment no direct attack upon the hereditary States of the King was contemplated by Field-Marshal Radetzky.

The result therefore of the Marshal's movements would indicate, in case of his resuming hostilities, that his points of attack would be the Duchies and the roads leading towards Central Italy and the town of Venice.

Although the Sardinian army has no doubt greatly improved in discipline and organization during the last months, it could hardly expect to enter upon a regular campaign with much hope of permanently defeating its opponents, and another reverse would in all probability lead to an invasion by Austria of the hereditary States of the King and to the descent of a French army into Italy.

The consequences likely to result from events of such a nature, both as regards the interests of this country and the probable maintenance of general tranquillity, are sufficiently evident to prove how important it is that during the

sitting of the conferences, which it is to be hoped may lead to the conclusion of a peace between Sardinia and Austria, the efforts of the mediating Powers to obtain so desirable an end should not be abruptly terminated by complications of so embarrassing a character.

It is upon this account that I have ventured to call your Lordship's attention to the reported movements of the Austrian army under the command of Marshal Radetzky, and the serious consequences which those movements, if the object for which they are supposed to be made proves to be correct, may possibly have upon the course of future events and the position of this country.

The events which it is feared threaten Venice may possibly have considerable influence upon the future proceedings of this country, and I have therefore felt anxious that Her Majesty's Government should be made fully conversant with the critical position in which she is placed, the necessity for action that may be forced upon her should Venice be attacked, and the difficulties which may thereby be raised in the way of a successful termination of the labours of the Conference, but for which Sardinia could hardly with justice be made wholly responsible.

No. 78.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord,

Turin, January 26, 1849.

I HAVE lately had occasion to see a person of respectability and intelligence who has been residing for some weeks past in Lombardy, and who from his conversation and remarks has evidently endeavoured to acquire an impartial but correct impression of the state of public feeling in those provinces.

The gentleman in question confirmed the accounts I had previously received of the strict discipline maintained by order of Field-Marshal Count Radetzky amongst the troops under his command, and he commended the general demeanour of the troops quartered at Milan, as regards their habitual bearing towards the inhabitants.

He described however the painful impression made upon his mind by the feeling of terror which the severe measures of the Austrian military authorities had universally spread throughout the country, and the entire want of security of personal liberty which is experienced by persons of all classes.

At Milan commerce is at an end, and the measures which were spoken of as being possibly about to be adopted, such as cutting off all mercantile relations between this country and Lombardy, in the same manner as has been already done with regard to the intercourse of individuals, will materially help to annihilate it altogether, should they be really carried into execution.

In the midst of the oppression which the Austrians are imposing upon their Italian provinces, if the people previously proved that they were inapt for active personal conflict with their enemies in the field, they have since shown that they have sufficient determination courageously to offer throughout the country an uniform but dignified and steady opposition to the will of the Austrians, and they have resisted and successfully resisted every attempt made by the Imperial authorities to induce the municipalities of the towns and authorities of the provinces to depute representatives to the Assembly in Austria, and to give even the semblance of voluntarily acquiescing in the continuance of Austrian rule.

In a country where arbitrary acts, such as the imprisonment of the whole of the municipal body of the city of Brescia upon an unfounded imputation of dereliction of duty, can be perpetrated with impunity, such conduct as that which has been followed by the local native authorities throughout the Lombard and Venetian provinces is worthy of remark, and surely calls for the sympathy of civilized and liberal nations.

It is the policy of the Austrians to declare openly that only one class of their Italian subjects, namely the nobles, are really disaffected towards them, and that the measures which have been adopted are calculated only to break the spirit of revolt in that portion of the population, and to enable them to confer that happi-

ness and contentment upon the rest of the inhabitants which it is asserted they are perfectly ready to receive at the hands of their Austrian rulers.

The information which I have received leads me to form a totally different conclusion. From the reports which have been made to me by persons who have had opportunities of studying this point, I believe that one feeling of deep-rooted hatred of the Austrian name pervades the minds of man, woman, and child throughout Lombardy; and that this feeling has immeasurably increased since the Austrian reoccupation of her provinces. Beyond the frontier of the Alps the daily opposition which is made to the wishes and measures of the Austrian authorities is not known; while pains are taken to inform the people of Europe that the municipality of Milan assisted at the *Te Deum* sung for the accession of the Emperor, equal pains are taken to conceal that they were there by virtue of military constraint. It is not known that the population of another city when going on the same occasion in a body to the cemetery, rather than take part in the ceremony in the cathedral, were prevented from so doing by a detachment of Imperial troops; it is not known that honest and respectable citizens positively refuse to exercise or to accept of municipal functions, because they will not lend themselves to become the instruments of Austrian oppression upon their fellow citizens; but these are facts with which those who reside on the southern side of the Alps are perfectly conversant, but which pierce with difficulty beyond the barrier of snow which divides Italy from the rest of Europe.

At a moment when the fate and interests of these fine Italian provinces are at stake, it is but just that the real sentiments of the country should be known; and I venture upon the present occasion to repeat that which I have formerly stated to your Lordship, that such is now the feeling of the Lombard population, both high and low, that it will be next to impossible to establish a really solid and lasting state of tranquillity in Lombardy so long as German domination shall exist there.

The people may be kept down by force of arms and military despotism, but Austria will not obtain the affections of the inhabitants, or render the Lombard Provinces a source of wealth or power to the Imperial Crown.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 79.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord,

Florence, January 19, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship, in copy and translation, a protest addressed by M. Montanelli, in the name of the Tuscan Government, to me and the other Foreign Ministers at Florence, against the expected intervention of a Spanish force in the Roman States: Such an intervention would he says threaten all Italy with immense misfortunes, and would consequently give them (the Tuscan Government) a right to protest against it loudly in the face of Europe.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 79.

M. Montanelli to Sir George Hamilton.

Firenze, 18 Gennajo, 1849.

GIUNTA appena la notizia che nel porto di Gaeta si attende l'arrivo d'una flottiglia di sette navi Spagnuole, aventi a bordo mille uomini, e vicine ad esser seguite da un numero maggiore di truppe da sbarco, il Governo del Gran Duca

non ha potuto non andar persuaso che un simile contegno del Governo di Spagna sarebbe un vero e proprio intervento in favore di Pio IX.

In tal persuasione il Governo Toscano sente il dovere di manifestare a tutti i Governi d'Europa la sorpresa grandissima che gli è stata ispirata da una simile nuova, specialmente dopo le altissime prove di filiale affetto che da Sua Altezza Reale il Gran Duca sono state arrecate a Pio IX, e dopo i diplomatici officj che si sono avvicinati fra il Governo Toscano e la Legazione di Spagna in Firenze.

Il Ministro Toscano a Gaeta non può aver abbandonato con istante la via designatagli dal suo superiore Governo, il quale è nella ferma persuasione che egli non avrà cessato mai di sostenere presso Sua Santità quella politica Italiana, che più è trovata per noi conveniente, sì ai diritti del Pontefice che alle esigenze dei tempi. E in questo concetto appunto, è incredibile cosa non solo quella di vedere una straniera Potenza attraversare il corso d'un avvenimento Italiano, che potrebbe Italianamente esser diretto a buon fine, ma sì quella del dubitare che Sua Santità abbia aderito o aderisca mai a nessun intervento straniero. Senzi nazionali infatti, e il cuore altamente Italiano di Pio IX sono la più alta protesta che possa aver luogo contro un simile avvenimento, e certo nessuno Stato Italiano potrà credere mai ch'ei l'abbia spontaneamente e liberamente invocato.

Nè per il Governo del Gran Duca è meno incredibile un intervento Spagnuolo, di quel che sia l'adesione del Santo Padre. E certamente noto che il Governo di Spagna, come a quelli di Sardegna, Portogallo, Austria, Baviera e Napoli, anche al Toscano dirigeva un dispaccio col quale lo invitava ad aderire alla proposta d'un congresso di rappresentanti dei medesimi Stati. E noto del pari che un tal Congresso dovea esser disposto nel concetto del Governo della Regina Isabella, a far cessare colla massima celerità lo stato deplorabile in cui trovasi il Capo della Chiesa, provvedendo alla di lui libertà nell'esercizio de' suoi sacri diritti. A questa proposta di Spagna, il Governo del Gran Duca con somma cura rispose, esaltando il profondo sentimento religioso di quella Cattolica nazione, e del suo Governo, abbenchè per varj argomenti dimostrando di non comprendere come quel Congresso proposto dovesse avere qualità religiosa soltanto, dichiarasse lealmente di non potervi aderire. Nè la risposta del Governo Toscano si asteneva dal dichiarare, essere d'immenso rischio e sventura per l'Italia il volere condurre una violenta riconciliazione fra il Papa e i suoi Stati, e amichevolmente replicava alla Toscana risposta il Ministro di Spagna.

La universale contezza dunque dell'animo del Santo Padre, e la natura delle diplomatiche relazioni fra il Governo Toscano e quello di Spagna rendono del tutto incomprensibile una spedizione armata, la quale, se d'altronde avvenisse, non potrebbe non offendere i diritti della nazionalità Italiana.

I Governi Italiani non possono tacere neppure nella sola supposizione di essa. Perciò nella supposizione che possa avvenire un intervento armato per parte d'un Governo straniero nelle differenze insorte fra il Pontefice e i suoi Stati, mentre sarebbe d'un importanza altamente Italiana, per le sventure di cui può essere principio non solo negli Stati Pontificj, ma in tutta Italia, il Governo del Gran Duca si trova nel dovere di protestare, come protesta nel modo più solenne ed energico, contro un siffatto intervento.

Essendo poi necessario che l'attenzione di tutti i Governi d'Europa sia richiamata sopra un simile avvenimento, il Sottoscritto, Presidente del Consiglio de' Ministri, Ministro Segretario di Stato pel Dipartimento degli Affari Esteri di Sua Altezza Reale il Gran Duca di Toscana, si affretta a comunicare la presente protesta a sua Eccellenza Sir Giorgio Baillie Hamilton, Ministro Plenipotenziario di Sua Maestà Britannica, perchè voglia darne pronta contezza al Suo Governo; e confidando che vorrà riconoscere la giustizia delle ragioni che hanno ispirato la presente protesta, profitta, &c.

(Firmato) G. MONTANELLI.

(Translation.)

Florence, January 18, 1848.

AS soon as the news came that the arrival of a Spanish fleet of seven ships having 1000 men on board, to be followed up by a greater number of troops to be disembarked, was expected at Gaeta, the Grand Duke's Government could not

but be persuaded that such conduct on the part of the Spanish Government was a real and actual intervention in favour of Pius IX. Under this persuasion the Tuscan Government feels it to be its duty to declare to all the European Governments the very great surprise which such information has inspired in it; the more so after the high proofs of filial affection which have been conveyed to Pius IX from His Royal Highness the Grand Duke, and after the diplomatic communications which have been exchanged between the Tuscan Government and the Spanish Legation resident in Florence.

The Tuscan Minister at Gaeta cannot for a moment have abandoned the course pointed out to him by his superior Government, which is in the firm persuasion that he never can have desisted from maintaining with His Holiness that Italian policy which has been regarded as most suitable both for the rights of the Pontiff and the exigencies of the times. And in this aspect precisely it is a thing incredible not only to see a foreign Power thwart the course of an Italian event which might be directed by Italians to a favourable termination, but also to suppose that His Holiness can have adhered or ever may adhere to any foreign intervention. National feelings indeed, and the heart of Pius IX, Italian to the highest degree, form the strongest protest that can be made against such an event; and certainly no Italian State will ever believe that he can have called for it spontaneously and of his own free will.

Nor is a Spanish intervention less incredible for the Government of the Grand Duke than the consent of the Holy Father can be. It is perfectly well known that the Spanish Government, which addressed Sardinia, Portugal, Austria, Bavaria, and Naples, forwarded also a despatch to Tuscany, inviting Tuscany to consent to the proposal of a Congress of Representatives of the said States. It is equally well known that this Congress was to be assembled according to the views of Queen Isabella, to put an end with all possible speed to the deplorable situation in which the head of the Church was placed, by providing for his liberty in the exercise of his holy rights. To this proposal, made by Spain, the Grand Duke's Government answered with all diligence, lauding the profound religious sentiments of that Catholic nation and of its Government, although for various reasons it showed that it could not comprehend how the Congress proposed should have a religious aspect only, and candidly declared that it could not assent to it. Nor did the answer of the Tuscan Government abstain from declaring that it was a step of immense risk and danger for Italy to effect a violent reconciliation between the Pope and his States; and the Spanish Minister replied in friendly terms to the Tuscan answer.

The general conviction in the mind of the Holy Father, and the nature of the diplomatic relations between the Tuscan Government and that of Spain, render an armed expedition altogether inconceivable, which if it took place from another quarter, could not but offend the rights of Italian nationality.

The Italian Governments cannot remain silent even at the mere supposition of such an expedition. Therefore, on the supposition that an armed intervention may take place on the part of a foreign Government in the differences which have arisen between the Pontiff and his States, whilst it might be of the highest consequence to Italy by reason of the misfortunes of which it may be the commencement, not only in the States of the Church but throughout all Italy, the Grand Duke's Government considers it to be its duty to protest, as it does now protest, in the most solemn and in the strongest manner possible against any such intervention.

Finally, as it is necessary that the attention of all the European Governments should be called to such an event, the Undersigned, President of the Council of Ministers, Minister Secretary of State for the Department of Foreign Affairs to His Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany, hastens to communicate this present protest to his Excellency Sir George Billie Hamilton, in order that he may give immediate knowledge of the same to his Government; and in the hope that he will recognise the justice of the motives which have inspired this present protest, he embraces, &c.

(Signed) G. MONTANELLI.

No. 80.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 1, 1849.

WITH reference to the proposal understood to have been made by Austria to France for a combined military action by Austria, France, and Naples, for the purpose of re-establishing the Pope in the Roman States, I have to instruct your Excellency to state to the Austrian Government that Her Majesty's Government would deprecate any attempt to settle the differences between the Pope and his subjects by the military interference of foreign Powers, and that Her Majesty's Government, as at present informed, are led to think there is nothing in the nature of those differences which should preclude the hope that they might be settled by negotiation by the diplomatic intervention of friendly Powers.

It is probable that any advance of the Austrian forces across the Po would lead either to the march of a French army across the Alps or to the occupation of Civita Vecchia by French troops. But either of those measures would have the effect of placing Austria and France apparently in a position of antagonism in regard to the affairs of the Papal States, and would therefore not tend to produce a speedy or satisfactory settlement of those affairs, but rather by giving encouragement to each of the extreme parties between whom the existing differences have arisen, still further to widen the breach and to render an accommodation more difficult.

It cannot moreover escape the discernment of the Austrian Government that the entrance of a French force into Italy as a counterbalance to the advance of an Austrian force beyond the Po would necessarily tend to shake that confidence in the maintenance of the peace of Europe which it is so much the interest of all the Powers of Europe at the present moment to strengthen and confirm.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 81.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, February 1, 1849.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 17th ultimo, on the subject of a possible renewal of hostilities between Austria and Sardinia, I have to say that although there is undoubtedly in Piedmont a party who wish to involve their country in war with Austria, reckoning upon their being able to draw France into the conflict if the Austrians should enter Piedmont, yet Her Majesty's Government do not believe that party to be strong enough to carry their designs into execution; and Her Majesty's Government feel much confidence that peace will be maintained if the Austrian Government acts with moderation in Italy and sends without further delay an Envoy to the Brussels Conference.

No. 82.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 2.)

My Lord,

Vienna, January 28, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a translation of a reply made by Prince Schwarzenberg at the last sitting of the Diet to a question put by the Deputy Pitteri on the state of affairs in Italy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

Inclosure in No. 82.

Extract from the Vienna Gazette of January 28, 1849.

(Translation.)

Reichstag's Sitting of January 26, 1849.

Reply of Prince Schwarzenberg to a question of Deputy Pitteri on Italian affairs.

THE Government has no intention of opposing the endeavours of the people of Italy as long as they are directed to the establishment of constitutional freedom. It is the object of the Government to promote in the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, as well as in all the other parts of the empire, the full recognition of the principle of equal justice to all races, and to give full value to the right of national development. But the Government is just as firmly resolved to put down rebellion by force, should it again raise its head there, and to prevent the separation of those provinces from the United Empire at all costs and by all the means in its power. The Government must decline for the present to give any answer respecting the diplomatic negotiations, as they are still in suspense. As soon as they shall have led to any result, or have reached a stage in which they may be communicated without disadvantage, the desired information will be given to the House and all the correspondence laid before it. The Ministry well knows how to defend the honour and integrity of Austria, and in this question takes upon itself the entire responsibility.

No. 83.

*Prince Castelcicala to Viscount Palmerston.**Londra, 2 febbrajo, 1849.*

LE tribolazioni che soffre il sommo Pontefice, profugo dalla sua capitale e rifugiato in Gaeta, contristano a ragione tutto l'orbe Cattolico, e destano l'ansietà e l' desiderio universale di vedere Sua Santità prestamente restituita alla indipendenza ed alla dignità primiera.

Il Governo di Madrid ha creduto in tal circostanza prendere una iniziativa tutt'altro che Cattolica; ha proposto la riunione di un Congresso onde regolare definitivamente i gravi casi di Roma; ha invitato all'uopo i Governi di Francia, Austria, Due Sicilie, Portogallo, Baviera, Sardegna, e Toscana, presso i quali tutti il culto dominante è il Cattolico; ed ha indicato come possibil sede delle conferenze, Madrid, o qualunque altra città Spagnuola sul litorale del Mediterraneo.

Di siffatte cose il Duca di Rivas, Amhasciatore di Spagna presso la Corte delle Due Sicilie, diede con nota de' 2 dello scorso Gennaio partecipazione al Governo di Sua Maestà Siciliana.

Sua Santità intanto, cui per le convenevoli vie diplomatiche si era dal Gahinetto Spagnuolo fatta la simil partecipazione, osservava esser meglio spediente che il Congresso si riunisca presso la sua persona, come principalmente interessata nello affare; osservava che Madrid o qualunque altra città di Spagna sarebbe forse eccentriche, e mal risponderebbero alla urgenza delle circostanze ed alla indispensabil rapidità di comunicazioni; ed incaricava il suo Nunzio a Madrid di manifestare a quel Governo tali sue osservazioni.

Il Rè delle Due Sicilie ha applaudito al nobile pensiero di un Congresso, cui scopo sarà di restituire al Capo della Chiesa Cattolica lo indipendente esercizio delle sue altissime e sacrosante funzioni. Conformandosi però, circa la sede delle conferenze, a' desiderii espressi da Sua Santità ha offerto Napoli per punto di riunione, Napoli che delle città d'Italia è or la più tranquilla, ch'è vicinissima a Gaeta, e che or racchiude in se la maggior parte de' Cardinali del Sacro Collegio e de' più distinti personaggi della Corte Romana.

Oltretutto, Sua Maestà Siciliana ha creduto necessario, e formalmente domanda la intervento nello enunziato Congresso dell' Inghilterra, Russia, e Prussia; la presenza di tali Grandi Potenze essendo troppo reclamata in una discussione la

quale (oltre l'importantissimo oggetto della religione) potrà potentemente influire su le cose politiche e su la concordia delle Due Sicilie e della Italia intera.

Il Sottoscritto, Inviato Straordinario e Ministro Plenipotenziario della Maestà Sua presso Sua Maestà Britannica, nel far quindi d'ordine del suo Governo a sua Eccellenza il Visconte Palmerston, Principal Segretario di Stato al Dipartimento degli Affari Esteri, la sopraccennata narrazione, e nel pregare l'Eccellenza sua di una risposta all' uopo, non omette rimarcarle che la premura spiegata del Rè delle Due Sicilie per la intervento dell' Inghilterra è una prova della fiducia che Sua Maestà ripone ne' sentimenti amichevoli di un antico alleato, ed è un giusto omaggio che rende alla saviezza del Gabinetto de St. James.

Il Sottoscritto, &c.

(Firmato) CASTELCICALA.

(Translation.)

London, February 2, 1849.

THE afflictions suffered by the Supreme Pontiff, an exile from his capital, and sheltered at Gaeta, are a source of just sorrow to the Catholic world, and they produce an anxious and universal desire to see His Holiness promptly restored to his former independence and dignity.

Under such circumstances the Government of Madrid has judged fit to take a step wholly Catholic; it has proposed the meeting of a Congress in order to regulate definitively the serious questions of Rome; for this object it has invited the Governments of France, Austria, the Two Sicilies, Portugal, Bavaria, Sardinia, and Tuscany, in all of which the dominant religion is the Catholic; and it has indicated Madrid, or any other Spanish city on the shore of the Mediterranean, as the possible site for the conferences.

The Duke of Rivas, Ambassador of Spain at the Court of the Two Sicilies, in a letter dated the 2nd day of January last, informed His Sicilian Majesty's Government of the above circumstances.

In the meantime His Holiness, to whom the same information has been communicated through the proper diplomatic channel, observed that it was more expedient that the Congress should be assembled near his person, as principally interested in the matter. He observed that Madrid or any other Spanish city would be perhaps remote and unsuitable to the urgency of circumstances and to the indispensable rapidity of communications, and he instructed his Nuncio at Madrid to communicate these observations to the Spanish Government.

The King of the Two Sicilies has applauded the noble idea of a Congress whose object would be to restore to the Head of the Catholic Church the independent exercise of his elevated and sacred functions. But with respect to the site for the conferences, in conformity with the wishes expressed by His Holiness, he has offered Naples as the place of meeting; Naples which is now the most tranquil of the cities of Italy, which is very near to Gaeta, and which has at this time residing in it the majority of the Cardinals of the Sacred College and of the most distinguished personages of the Court of Rome.

His Sicilian Majesty has moreover thought necessary, and he formally demands, the participation of England, Russia, and Prussia in the said Congress; the presence of those Great Powers being strongly demanded in a discussion which (besides the very important object of religion) may have a powerful influence on the political circumstances and on the harmony of the Two Sicilies and of all Italy.

The Undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty at the Court of Her Britannic Majesty, in making the above statement to his Excellency Viscount Palmerston, Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, by command of his Government, and in requesting from his Excellency a reply to the same, begs to remind his Excellency that the wish expressed by the King of the Two Sicilies for the participation of England, is a proof of the confidence reposed by His Majesty in the friendly sentiments of an ancient ally, and a just homage which he pays to the wisdom of the Cabinet of St. James.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) CASTELCICALA.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 3.)

My Lord,

Milan, January 26, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to report for your Lordship's information, that the number of delegates required to be sent to Vienna would be nine by the State of Lombardy and eight by the State of Venice, or one from each province.

The State of Lombardy is composed of nine provinces: namely, Milan, Bergamo, Brescia, Como, Cremona, Lodi e Crema, Mantua, Pavia and Sondrio. The State of Venice is composed of eight provinces: namely, Venice, Belluno, Padua, Polesine, Treviso, Verona, Vicenza and Udine.

In my despatch of the 20th instant I had the honour to state for your Lordship's information, that in consequence of the Provincial Congregations having refused to elect representatives (that of Sondrio excepted) to proceed to the Austrian capital, the Imperial Plenipotentiary here had written to the refractory Provincial Congregations, ordering them at their peril to refuse obedience in a matter of such moment. I now do myself the honour to report that the Provincial Congregations at the receipt of the Imperial Plenipotentiary's menacing communication, held each a solemn meeting. The Provincial Congregation of Brescia alone elected a representative; the others came to the same determination as formerly, viz., that they had not legal powers to elect representatives, such powers being invested they say solely in the Central Congregation of Milan, which no longer exists. Thus out of all the Lombard Provinces only those of Sondrio and Brescia have elected representatives. These two exceptions however decide nothing, as it is necessary for the whole of the nine representatives to proceed to Vienna in a body. I have this day learnt the positive fact that all the Deputies composing the Provincial Congregation of Milan have unanimously declared they will never nominate any one to represent the province in the Austrian Parliament unless forced to do so by fine or imprisonment.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 3.)

My Lord,

Milan, January 26, 1849.

IN my despatch of the 19th instant I did myself the honour to report for your Lordship's information the movement of large bodies of troops and of numerous pieces of artillery towards Cremona. Since that date the military chest has been sent off in the same direction, and the officers' wives and children have all left this for Verona.

Lieutenant-Marshal Baron D'Aspre is ordered to take the command of *corps d'armée* at Lodi. The head-quarters of the army are still at Milan.

An emigration of the Lombard peasants into Switzerland and Piedmont has for some time past been going on, but it has lately increased to such an extent that in the Provinces of Brescia, Sondrio and Como, the military commandants in those quarters have made the communes and the heads of families responsible under the penalty of fine and imprisonment for those who leave their respective communes for other States without due permission.

A military *cordon* is established from Luino to Sesto Calende on the eastern side of the Lake Maggiore, from thence it is extended along the Ticino and the Po to Piacenza. Besides this another *cordon* is formed on the eastern side of the Lake of Como from Lecco to Colico. The object of these *cordons* is chiefly to prevent the escape of the peasants into Switzerland and Piedmont.

On the 23rd instant three battalions of infantry arrived in this city, thus increasing the garrison from 14,000 to 17,000 men. Ten battalions it is confidently asserted are ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice.

It seems the Military Government here intend to carry into execution the

sequestration of the properties of those implicated in the late Revolution. A commission for the purpose is already named, at the head of which is placed General Wohlgemuth. The properties of those that composed the Provisional Government and of the principal rich Milanese families will be the first dealt with, then those properties producing an income of about 10,000 Austrian livres, or nearly 330 pounds sterling, and afterwards those below this last sum. Of the persons fined in conformity with his Excellency Field-Marshal Count Radetzky's proclamation of the 11th of November last only those who have proved that they never quitted this kingdom since the return of the Austrians are exempt. These persons however form but a small number compared with the absentees, of which last none as yet have returned, although the term fixed on for their re-entry into these States is nearly expired.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 86.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 3.)

My Lord,

Milan, January 27, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to state for your Lordship's information, that out of the eight provinces composing the Venetian State not one has elected a representative to proceed to Vienna.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 87.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 3.)

(Extract.)

Florence, January 23, 1849.

THE Constituent Assembly having been proclaimed in Rome, the political agitators in this country immediately prepared an address to the Ministry, having assembled in a tumultuous manner to sign it under the arcade of the Piazza Granduca, desiring that not one day should be lost in proclaiming the Constituent here.

It is said that the chairs and tables on which the address was signed were prepared and furnished by the Government.

On the same evening (the 21st) M. Montanelli went to the Grand Duke with the projet de loi of which I have the honour to inclose a copy in the original and translation, and requested him to sign it. The Grand Duke hesitated and showed great reluctance to do so. At length he signed the projet de loi. M. Montanelli immediately proceeded to the Chamber of Deputies and read to the Assembly the Grand Duke's decree.

Inclosure in No. 87.

Projet de loi for the Election of Deputies in Tuscany to the Italian National Assembly.

1°. LA Toscana manderà trentasette Deputati all' Assemblée Nazionale Italiana.

2°. I Deputati saranno eletti col suffragio universale diretto.

3°. E elettore ogni cittadino Toscano che abbia vent'un anno compiti e goda il pieno esercizio dei diritti civili.

4°. E eligibile ogni cittadino Italiano maggiore di anni venticinque.

5°. Ai Deputati sarà data una conveniente indennità.

6°. Le forme dell' elezione e l'epoca della convocazione dei collegj elettorali saranno stabiliti da un apposito regolamento.

PART 4.

N

(Translation.)

Art. 1. TUSCANY will send to the Italian National Assembly thirty-seven Deputies.

2. The Deputies will be elected by direct universal suffrage.

3. Every Tuscan citizen is an elector who has completed his twenty-first year and enjoys the full exercise of civil rights.

4. Every Italian citizen is eligible above the age of twenty-five.

5. The Deputies shall receive a suitable indemnity.

6. The forms of election and the period for the convocation of the electoral colleges shall be determined by a special regulation.

No. 88.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 5, 1849.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 26th ultimo respecting the threatening movements of the Austrian forces, and the consequences which may ensue, if Austria, by attacking Venice, should bring, as would probably be the case, the Sardinian army again into the field, since that army, notwithstanding the improvement which has been made in it during the Armistice, would not in all likelihood be able to make head against the Austrian forces, or to protect the States of His Sardinian Majesty from a retaliatory attack on the part of the Austrians.

With reference to this matter I have to instruct you most earnestly to dissuade the Sardinian Government from actively interfering in any hostilities which may take place between the Austrians and the Venetians. It may be quite true that according to the spirit of the Armistice the Austrians ought to refrain from any hostile attack upon Venice while the negotiations are pending, and ought to reserve the employment of force for the moment when, after peace is concluded, the Venetians should still refuse to return to obedience to the authority of the Emperor, from which no part of the proposals made by France and England, as the basis of negotiation, would tend to detach them. But any military or naval assistance given by Sardinia to the Venetians in the present state of things would be an act of aggression on the part of Sardinia, which could not be justified, and which would throw upon the Sardinian Government a heavy responsibility as to the consequences which might flow from it.

Her Majesty's Government however have instructed Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna, as you will perceive by the inclosed copy of a despatch which I have addressed to his Excellency, to endeavour to dissuade the Austrian Government from hostile measures against Venice while the negotiations are going on.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 89.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 5, 1849.

WITH reference to Mr. Abercromby's despatch of the 26th ultimo, a copy of which is transmitted to you to-day, I have to instruct your Excellency to say to the Austrian Government that Her Majesty's Government have been informed that movements have been made by the Austrian troops in Italy which were supposed to indicate an intention of making an attack upon Venice. That Her Majesty's Government would beg to submit for the consideration of the Austrian Government that such a measure taken at the present moment would tend to produce an inconvenient and embarrassing complication in the affairs of Northern Italy, and to exert a prejudicial influence upon the negotiations about to be opened at Brussels. The Austrian Govern-

ment should recollect that no part of the basis of negotiation proposed in August last by Great Britain and France to the contending parties, embraced any portion of the Venetian territory, and that if Austria were to accept that basis in its fullest extent, the city of Venice would still remain a portion of the Austrian Empire. There cannot therefore be any advantage to be gained by Austria in regard to the negotiations about to be opened, by obtaining before those negotiations begin, or before they are concluded, forcible possession of the city of Venice; and it seems scarcely possible to doubt that if those negotiations shall lead, as Her Majesty's Government hope and trust they will, to the re-establishment of peace in Northern Italy, the people of Venice will see the necessity of voluntary submission to the Imperial authority; but if they should not do so, and if the employment of force should then become necessary, it is manifest that the employment of force, at that time and under such circumstances, would be free from the liability of being attended with those inconvenient consequences, by which, at present, it might be followed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 90.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 5.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 3, 1849.

I HAD found upon the last occasions when I have spoken to M. Drouyn de Lhuys upon the prospects of the mediation, that he has taken a very desponding view not only of its possible results, but of its ever having a commencement. The conduct of the Government of Austria, as he with apparent justice remarks, is perfectly inexplicable. After now more than a month since their acceptance of the mediation and their promise to name their negotiator immediately, all that is known is that the person generally though not formally designated for that post, Count Colloredo, has now been announced as going to London, without any explanation as to whether the two employments are to be joined in his person, or if not, who is to succeed him. M. Drouyn de Lhuys evidently considers such conduct as an unworthy trifling with the mediating Powers. But last night I found the Minister still more uneasy in consequence of the news he had received from Italy. All appears to threaten an attack upon Venice. The Sardinian Government have formally announced the impossibility in which they should find themselves to avert the renewal of hostilities should such a step be taken by Austria precisely at the moment when the conferences are at last expected to open. The only practical adhesion to any portion of the original terms of mediation still maintained by Austria has been the continued suspension of hostilities until the powers of negotiation shall have been tried; and if this solitary observance of any respect for the opinions of the mediating Parties should be broken through upon a point on which the remonstrances of both have been so frequent and urgent, the irritating effect upon the public spirit of France would be much more likely to engage this country in a hostile attitude than any subsequent result arising out of the ultimate settlement of these questions. M. Drouyn de Lhuys is very anxious that renewed representations should be made at Vienna in precisely the same spirit by the two mediating Powers as to the bad effect of an attack upon Venice at so inopportune a moment, and urges that no time should be lost in a matter of such grave importance and of such pressing urgency.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 91.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 5.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 4, 1849.

SINCE writing my despatch of yesterday's date communicating the anxieties of the French Government with reference to the most recent intelligence from Italy, I have read the inclosures in Mr. Abercromby's despatch of January 30, which I forward by this occasion. I have also seen M. Ricci, who states that the Ministry at Turin will have the greatest difficulty in resisting that party in the new Assembly who will be for a renewal of hostilities, and has expressed so strong a conviction that the only means of insuring even a delay would be the commencement of the conferences at Brussels, that he says he shall feel obliged to repair there himself in two or three days and announce his arrival to his Government, even should he have to wait there alone.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 92.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 5.)

My Lord,

Turin, January 30, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of a note addressed by M. Gioberti to my French colleague and to myself, declaring that Sardinia reserves for herself full liberty of action if the conferences at Brussels are not opened within a short delay, and inclosing copy of a protest addressed to the foreign Ministers at this Court against the conduct of Austria since the conclusion of the Armistice of the 9th August, 1848.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 92.

M. Gioberti to the Hon. R. Abercromby and M. de Bois-le-Comte.

Turin, le 29 Janvier, 1849.

A SON avènement au pouvoir, le Ministère actuel de Sa Majesté s'est cru en devoir d'accepter ou plutôt de subir la position que le Cabinet précédent lui avait faite relativement à la médiation Anglo-Française destinée à amener la pacification de l'Italie; quoiqu'il eût été peu disposé à adhérer à cette médiation, lorsqu'elle était à son début, il n'a pas cru pouvoir la refuser au moment où elle paraissait toucher à son terme, et il s'est décidé à en agir comme il l'a fait, soit par respect pour les Puissances médiatrices dont il apprécie hautement les amicales dispositions, soit parcequ'on l'assurait que cette bienveillante médiation aurait promptement atteint le but qu'elle s'était proposé.

Le Gouvernement du Roi a cependant été jusqu'ici cruellement trompé dans l'attente qu'on lui avait inspirée, et tout en reconnaissant que les Cabinets de France et d'Angleterre n'ont rien négligé pour hâter l'accomplissement de leur noble tâche, il se voit aujourd'hui dans la nécessité de protester de nouveau et de la manière la plus formelle contre le système déloyal de dilation au moyen duquel l'Autriche, après avoir elle-même admis la médiation, en a constamment paralysé l'action et les effets.

Depuis le 15 Août dernier, époque à laquelle le Gouvernement Sarde l'a acceptée, cinq mois et demi se sont écoulés sans que non seulement aucun résultat ait été obtenu, mais sans que les conférences dans lesquelles cette amicale médiation doit être exercée, aient même été ouvertes. L'Autriche ne prend pas même soin de déguiser sa mauvaise foi et son intention de ne pas accepter les bases de la médiation; dans le moment même où les conférences de Bruxelles vont s'ouvrir, ne tenant aucun compte du vote presque unanime d'annexion aux Etats

Sardes prononcé par les Provinces Lombardes, ni de l'offre qu'elle a faite elle-même à une autre époque, elle vient, pour constater ses droits, de convoquer à Vienne des Députés du Royaume Lombard-Vénitien.

Le Cabinet de Vienne, en opposant chaque jour de nouveaux subterfuges aux pressantes instances des Puissances médiatrices, s'est joué à la fois de nous et de leurs bienveillantes intentions, et tandis que le Gouvernement Impérial éludait ainsi leurs justes instances, il exerçait par un régime militaire la plus oppressive, la plus tyrannique domination dans les provinces qu'il occupe en Italie. Il n'y a en effet respecté ni la vie des personnes ni le droit de propriété qui étaient placés sous la sauvegarde d'une convention formelle, et violant tout à la fois les lois de l'humanité, le droit international, et ses engagements particuliers, il a mis en usage les spoliations et les exécutions sanguinaires, et a réduit par des charges et des impositions aussi arbitraires qu'excessives, ces malheureuses provinces à la plus affligeante des conditions.

De notre côté les retards qu'éprouve la médiation, en nous obligeant à maintenir ainsi indéfiniment un état de trêve armée, nous entraînent dans des dépenses si considérables, qu'elles ne pourraient être soutenues plus longtemps sans porter la plus ruineuse atteinte à la fortune publique; bien plus, l'inquiétude croissante que cette violente situation excite dans les esprits menace de compromettre la tranquillité intérieure du pays et nos institutions constitutionnelles elles-mêmes. C'est précisément à cette cause qu'on doit attribuer les derniers événemens de Toscane et de Rome dont personne ne peut prévoir les suites.

Un pareil état de choses est tellement grave, il est accompagné de tant de dangers, que la guerre même serait préférable, car il en a presque tous les inconvéniens sans avoir aucun de ses avantages. En effet la guerre, en nous offrant de glorieuses chances, amènerait une solution de toutes les incertitudes au milieu desquelles nos ressources se consomment inutilement.

Dans des circonstances aussi impérieuses, le Gouvernement du Roi, en protestant contre la conduite inouïe du Cabinet Impérial, croit de son devoir de déclarer à Messieurs les Plénipotentiaires de Sa Majesté Britannique et de la République Française, que si dans un court délai les conférences de Bruxelles ne sont pas ouvertes, et si la médiation n'a pas obtenu le but que leurs Gouvernemens se sont proposé, la Sardaigne se regardera comme déliée de l'adhésion qu'elle avait donnée à ce moyen d'assurer la pacification de l'Italie, qu'elle se réservera par conséquent son entière liberté d'action, et que l'Autriche devra être seule responsable des maux dont son obstination sera la cause inévitable.

En remplissant ce devoir le Soussigné, &c., a l'honneur de remettre ci-joint à Messieurs les Ministres des Puissances médiatrices la copie d'une communication relative à nos griefs contre l'Autriche qu'il vient d'adresser aux Représentans des autres Puissances à Turin, et en priant Messieurs Abercromby et Sain de Bois-le-Comte de la faire parvenir, ainsi que la présente note, à la connaissance de leurs Gouvernemens respectif, il saisit cette occasion, &c.,

(Signé) GIOBERTI.

(Translation.)

Turin, January 29, 1849.

HIS Majesty's present Ministry, on its assuming power, considered it its duty to accept, or rather acquiesce in, the position which the former Cabinet had left to it with respect to the mediation of England and France, intended to bring about the pacification of Italy; although it was but little disposed to adhere to that mediation, at its outset, it did not consider that it could refuse it at the moment when it seemed to be near its close; and it determined to act as it has acted, both out of respect for the mediating Powers, whose friendly intentions it entirely appreciates, and also because it received assurances that that benevolent mediation would shortly arrive at the end which it proposed to itself.

The King's Government nevertheless has hitherto been cruelly deceived in the expectation held out to it; and whilst acknowledging that the Cabinets of France and of England have neglected nothing to hasten the accomplishment of their noble task, it finds itself now obliged to protest anew, and in the most formal manner, against the dishonest system of delays by which Austria, after having herself consented to the mediation, has constantly paralyzed its action and its effect.

Since the 15th of August last, at which period the Sardinian Government accepted the mediation, five months and a half have elapsed, not only without any result having been obtained therefrom, but even without the opening of the conferences in which that friendly mediation was to be exercised. Austria does not even take pains to conceal her bad faith and her intention not to accept the bases of mediation; at the very moment when the conferences at Brussels are about to open, taking no account of the almost unanimous vote which the Lombard Provinces have given in favour of annexation to the Sardinian territories, nor of the offer which she herself made at another period, she has, in order to establish her rights, just called together at Vienna the Deputies of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom.

The Cabinet of Vienna, by opposing every day new subterfuges to the pressing representations of the mediating Powers, has at the same moment made a mockery of us, and also of the benevolent intentions of those Powers; and whilst the Imperial Government thus evaded their just representations, it exercised, by means of a most oppressive military régime, a most tyrannical domination over the provinces which it occupies in Italy. It has in fact neither respected the lives of persons nor the rights of property, which were placed under the protection of a formal convention; and violating at the same moment the laws of humanity, international law, and its own private engagements, it has had recourse to acts of spoliation and to bloody executions, and has reduced those unhappy provinces, by taxes and impositions equally arbitrary and excessive, to the most miserable condition.

On our side, the delay which the mediation meets with, by forcing us to maintain thus indefinitely a state of armed truce, involves us in such heavy expenses that we could not support them longer without causing a most ruinous injury to the public fortune; and, what is more, the growing disquiet which such a violent state of things excites in men's spirits; threatens to compromise the internal tranquillity of the country and our constitutional institutions themselves. It is precisely to such a cause that the late events in Tuscany and at Rome, the consequences of which none can foresee, may be attributed.

Such a state of things is so serious, and is accompanied by so many dangers, that war itself would be preferable; for it has almost all the inconveniences of war without any of its advantages. In fact, war, whilst it offers us glorious chances, would bring about a solution of all the uncertainties in the midst of which our resources are uselessly consuming themselves.

In such pressing circumstances the King's Government, whilst protesting against the unheard-of line of conduct of the Imperial Cabinet, considers it to be its duty to declare to the Plenipotentiaries of Her Britannic Majesty and of the French Republic, that if within a short interval the conferences at Brussels are not opened, and if the mediation does not accomplish the object which their Governments have proposed to themselves, Sardinia will consider herself as freed from the adhesion which she gave to that means of securing the pacification of Italy, that she will in consequence reserve her entire freedom of action, and that Austria must be alone responsible for the evils of which her obstinacy will be the inevitable cause.

Whilst fulfilling this duty the Undersigned, &c., has the honour to inclose herewith to the Ministers of the mediating Powers a copy of a communication respecting our complaints against Austria, which he has just addressed to the Representatives of other Powers at Turin; and requesting Messrs. Abercromby and Bois-le-Comte to bring this document, as well as the present note, to the knowledge of their respective Governments, he avails himself, &c.

(Signed) GIOBERTI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 92.

M. Gioberti to the Foreign Ministers at Turin.

Turin, le 29 Janvier, 1849.

LORSQUE l'armée Sarde fut obligée de repasser le Tessin, le chef de l'état-major signa avec le Quartier-Maître Général Autrichien, le 9 Août, 1848, un Armistice dont les conditions ont été bien connues. Quelque onéreuses qu'elles fussent pour elle, quelque fâcheuses que dussent en être les conséquences poli-

tiques, la Sardaigne tint à honneur d'exécuter les conditions d'un engagement auquel elle ne dut reconnaître cependant que la valeur d'un acte purement militaire, et elle peut se rendre la justice de dire qu'elle l'a fait avec la plus parfaite loyauté.

L'Autriche, au contraire méconnaissant ses promesses, a mis à ne pas accomplir les clauses de cette Convention, autant d'obstination et de mauvaise volonté que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté a voué de soin à tenir ses engagements. Dans cet état de choses, et dans la prévision des complications qui en peuvent résulter, c'est un devoir pour le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne de porter à la connaissance des Puissances Etrangères, les faits et les preuves sur lesquelles se fonde cette double assertion.

Par l'Article II de cet Armistice, il avait été stipulé que les troupes Sardes et alliés, en évacuant la forteresse de Peschiera, trois jours après la notification de la Convention, transporteraient avec elles tout leur matériel, armes, munitions, et effets d'habillement. Ainsi le Gouvernement Sarde était en droit (car cette condition n'était subordonnée à aucune autre de celles de la Convention) de faire emmener tout son matériel par ses troupes elles-mêmes, au moment où elles videraient la place.

Mais la nécessité de se pourvoir des immenses moyens de transport nécessaires, fut pour les troupes Sardes une cause de retard que les généraux Autrichiens se hâtèrent d'exploiter. Ils imaginèrent le prétexte que nos troupes renfermées dans Venise et notre flotte monillée dans le port n'avaient pas quitté encore l'Adriatique, pour avoir une raison de refuser la sortie du matériel de Peschiera.

Bien qu'il leur fût notoire que le Gouvernement du Roi avait expédié sans retard, et par leur entremise même, des ordres pressans et réitérés à nos troupes de terre et de mer pour qu'elles quittassent Venise; que le grand nombre des malades qui ne pouvait être embarqué immédiatement, et surtout l'opposition qu'y mettaient les autorités de Venise, fussent les causes bien évidentes de ce retard, les généraux Autrichiens s'obstinèrent dans leur refus.

Quand ensuite ils purent croire que ce retard allait cesser, ils cherchèrent plusieurs autres raisons, aussi futiles que spécieuses, pour avoir un motif de ne pas remplir la condition que l'Armistice leur avait imposée de laisser sortir le matériel de Peschiera.

Cependant la flotte Sarde avait quitté les eaux de Venise pour se rendre à Ancône, et elle allait faire voile pour quitter l'Adriatique, quand on apprit que la flotte Autrichienne venait de bloquer Venise, pour la soumettre de vive force. Cette nouvelle violation de l'Armistice, puisque par l'Article IV la suspension des hostilités devait s'étendre à Venise, força le Gouvernement du Roi de donner ordre à sa flotte de retourner devant Venise, et de ne pas s'en éloigner jusqu'à ce que le matériel de Peschiera nous fût restitué. Il était d'autant plus autorisé à cette mesure, que la flotte Autrichienne n'avait cessé de mettre de continuelles entraves à la libre navigation et au commerce de la marine marchande de Venise, à qui elle avait fait arbitrairement de fréquentes saisies.

Les Ministres de France et d'Angleterre, dont les bienveillans offices, comme Représentans des Puissances médiatrices, ont été si souvent réclamés pour amener le Maréchal Radetzky à répondre, par quelque déférence, aux preuves de longanimité que donnait le Gouvernement du Roi, n'ont pu parvenir par leurs démarches conciliantes à vaincre son obstination. Au reste le Gouvernement du Roi avait tout aussi bien le droit de demander que le parc de siège de Peschiera lui fût restitué, avant le départ de sa flotte de Venise, que le Maréchal Radetzky d'exiger que la flotte Sarde partit avant qu'il permit la restitution de ce matériel de guerre.

Le Gouvernement du Roi avait au surplus de justes raisons de se défier de la promesse du Maréchal, en raison de la mauvaise foi qu'il mettait dans l'accomplissement des autres conditions de l'Armistice. L'Article III avait stipulé que les troupes Sardes évacueraient les Duchés, mais il n'avait point été convenu que les forces Impériales les occuperaient. Cependant, dès que les troupes Sardes furent sorties de Plaisance, le Général Comte de Thurn l'occupa avec les siennes, déclara dans une proclamation du 18 Août que Charles II de Bourbon était le Souverain légitime de ce pays (au mépris de son abdication et du vote général d'annexion aux Etats Sardes), et il fit publier une proclamation réelle ou apocryphe, dans laquelle ce Prince prenait le titre de Duc de Parme et s'en attribuait les prérogatives. Bientôt le Général Autrichien prit la qualité de Gouverneur Militaire, prononça la dissolution de la Garde Nationale, supprima la

liberté de la presse, augmenta le nombre de ses troupes, et obligea la ville de Plaisance à pourvoir à leur entretien et à s'imposer ainsi une dépense si considérable que ses ressources ne pouvaient y faire face qu'en très faible partie.

Depuis lors, les autorités Autrichiennes n'ont cessé d'accabler les populations des parties des Duchés que les troupes Impériales occupaient, d'impositions et de vexations insupportables. Un arrêté du 14 Décembre dernier a comblé la mesure de ce système de ruine, en déclarant Plaisance en état de siège.

Dans le Duché de Modène où le Prince François V était rentré après l'Armistice, sous la protection des bayonnettes Autrichiennes, le même système de vexations, d'illégalités, de violences a été mis en œuvre sous l'égide des troupes Impériales.

On a en recours aux moyens les moins avoués pour y imposer le Gouvernement d'un Souverain que le vœu public avait repoussé de ses Etats.

Mais des mesures bien plus rigoureuses, une justice bien plus brutale, étaient adoptées en même temps à l'égard des malheureuses populations de la Lombardie.

La Capitulation du 5 Août avait garanti la vie et les propriétés des habitants de Milan; c'est à cette condition que nos troupes avaient quitté cette ville. L'Article V de l'Armistice du 9 Août avait en outre placé les personnes et les propriétés dans les pays que nous abandonnions, sous la protection du Gouvernement Impérial. Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche par un décret du 20 Septembre avait accordé une amnistie aux personnes qui avaient pris part aux événements de la Lombardie. Malgré ces engagements, au mépris de garanties aussi sacrées, les chefs militaires Autrichiens n'ont cessé, dès leur retour en Lombardie, d'ordonner les mesures les plus arbitraires et les plus oppressives.

L'état de siège, les poursuites, les amendes, les destitutions, les saccages organisés, les exécutions sommaires, sans distinction d'âge et de condition des personnes, sans égard pour les circonstances atténuantes, et sur les plus légers prétextes, sont des faits assez connus de l'Europe entière, qui les a déjà frappés d'une sévère mais juste désapprobation, pour qu'il suffise les rappeler ici.

Ils ont continué après l'Armistice ces mêmes actes de barbarie qui pendant la guerre avaient répandu la terreur parmi les populations. Des cruautés, qu'il répugne de détailler, mais dont le fait est attesté de la manière la plus certaine, accusent hautement une animosité qui ne connaît point de bornes.

Sans citer cette nombreuse série de décrets que la Gazette Officielle de Milan a enregistrés, on se bornera à rappeler ceux du Maréchal Radetzky du 11 Novembre et du 30 Décembre dernier. Le premier frappe d'énormes contributions sur les personnes qui ont pris part à la Révolution Lombarde, même par leurs moyens intellectuels. L'autre fixe aux émigrés pour rentrer dans leur patrie, un terme après lequel leurs biens seront mis sous séquestre.

Un système inique de spoliation a été mis ainsi en vigueur sous les noms de contributions, d'impôts extraordinaires de guerre, &c. Les confiscations les plus illégales ont été prononcées contre de malheureux émigrés à qui l'on faisait un tort d'avoir préféré l'exil à une oppression contre laquelle des promesses formelles ne devaient pas être une garantie assurée.

Il résulte de documents officiels, que la Lombardie seule a été taxée depuis l'Armistice, pour impositions extraordinaires, à environ 40,000,000 de livres; en y ajoutant 30,000,000 d'impôts ordinaires, elle aura fourni pendant ce court espace de temps, 70,000,000 à l'avidité de l'Autriche; et comme ces extorsions doivent être continuées, on peut calculer à plus de 160,000,000 la somme qu'elles auront produit pendant une année, c'est-à-dire presque la moitié des impôts de tout l'Empire Autrichien. Or, la population de la Lombardie est de deux millions et demi, et celle de l'Empire de 34 millions d'habitants.

L'intention de l'Autriche est donc évidemment de livrer les provinces, qui par un vote spontané se sont réunies aux Etats Sardes, à une ruine complète.

Rien ne prouve mieux la haine aveugle qui inspire les autorités Autrichiennes, que la mesure qu'elles ont prise le 24 Décembre dernier de repousser de la frontière les voitures contenant des voyageurs venant des Etats du Roi, d'empêcher l'introduction des journaux, enfin de mettre toute espèce d'entraves dans les relations habituelles des deux pays. Et cette mesure, contraire à tous les usages et à toutes les convenances que comportent les rapports internationaux, a été prise sans motif plausible, sur une simple caprice que rien ne justifie, et sans tenir aucun compte de la grave perturbation qu'elle apporte dans les habitudes

do communications nécessaires entre des contrées voisines. Un fait d'une nature bien plus grave encore, et qui a été signalé par l'Agent Consulaire de France à Ancône, est parvenu tout récemment à la connaissance du Gouvernement du Roi. La flotte Autrichienne, au mépris des conditions de l'Armistice et des assurances qu'avaient reçu les Ministres des Puissances médiatrices à Turin, s'empare de tous les bâtimens Italiens qu'elle rencontre dans l'Adriatique, et exerce ainsi un acte d'hostilité et une mesure de violence que condamne hautement le principe de la liberté des mers.

Le Gouvernement du Roi, avec cette juste confiance qu'il a placée dans la généreuse médiation de la France et de l'Angleterre, a déjà protesté auprès de ces Puissances contre la violation manifeste des conditions de l'Armistice, contre l'abus que l'Autriche a fait de la force pour frapper de spoliation et de mort des personnes que des conventions formelles et le droit des gens devaient mettre à l'abri des mesures dont l'exemple ne se rencontre plus chez les nations civilisées.

Il lui reste maintenant à remplir le devoir de faire la même protestation auprès des autres Puissances étrangères, et de déclarer qu'il laisse à l'Autriche toute la responsabilité des funestes conséquences que son mépris pour des engagements sacrés, que la violence de ses mesures peuvent amener pour l'Italie et pour l'Europe entière.

Le Soussigné, &c., prie en conséquence M. — Ministre de Sa Majesté — de vouloir bien porter cette communication à la connaissance de son Gouvernement, et il s'empresse en même temps, &c.

(Signé) GIOBERTI.

(Translation.)

Turin, January 29, 1849.

WHEN the Sardinian army was compelled to cross the Ticino, the Chief of the General Staff signed with the Austrian Quartermaster-General on the 9th of August, 1848, an Armistice, of which the stipulations are well known. However heavy those conditions were to her, and however annoying their political consequences, Sardinia considered it a point of honour to fulfil the conditions of an engagement which however she could only recognise as an act of a purely military character; and she is able to do herself the justice of saying that she has done this with perfect fidelity.

Austria, on the contrary, forgetting her promises, has shown, in not acting up to the clauses of this Convention, as much obstinacy and bad will as His Majesty's Government has taken pains to keep to its engagements. In such a state of things, and in anticipation of the complications which may result therefrom, it is the duty of the Government of His Majesty the King of Sardinia to bring to the knowledge of foreign Powers the facts and proofs upon which this double assertion is founded.

By Article II of that Armistice it was stipulated that the Sardinian troops and their allies, when evacuating the fortress of Peschiera three days after the notification of the Convention, should take with them all their stores, arms, military stores and articles of clothing. Thus the Sardinian Government had the right (as this condition was not subordinate to any other contained in the Convention) to cause all its stores to be removed by its own troops at the time when they should evacuate the place.

But the necessity of providing the immense means of transport which were required, was a cause of delay to the Sardinian troops, of which the Austrian Generals lost no time in availing themselves. And they devised the pretence that our troops shut up in Venice and our fleet anchored in the harbour had not yet left the Adriatic, as a reason for refusing to allow the removal of our stores from Peschiera.

Although it was well known that the King's Government had without delay, and even through their channel, sent pressing and repeated instructions to our land and sea forces to quit Venice, and that the great number of sick who could not be embarked, and the opposition shown by the Venetian authorities, were the very evident reasons for that delay, the Austrian Generals continued obstinate in their refusal.

Afterwards, when they had reason to believe that that impediment would cease, they sought for other reasons, as futile as they were specious, to serve as

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pretexes for not acting upon that condition of the Armistice which bound them to allow the stores to be taken from Peschiera.

Nevertheless the Sardinian fleet had quitted the waters of Venice in order to proceed to Ancona, and was on the point of setting sail to leave the Adriatic, when intelligence was received that the Austrian fleet had commenced the blockade of Venice in order to reduce it to submission by force. This fresh violation of the Armistice, inasmuch as by Article IV the suspension of hostilities should have extended to Venice, compelled the King's Government to give orders to its fleet to return to Venice and not to depart from thence until our stores at Peschiera should be restored to us. It was the more justified in this step as the Austrian fleet had never ceased to throw continual impediments to the free navigation and commerce of the merchant-vessels of Venice, of which it had arbitrarily made many seizures.

The Ministers of France and of England, whose friendly offices as Representatives of the mediating Powers have often been asked to persuade Marshal Radetzky to meet, by some sort of deference, the proofs of patience given by the King's Government, have not been able by their conciliatory representations to conquer his obstinacy. Besides, the King's Government had just as good a right to demand that the artillery at Peschiera should be restored to it before the departure of its fleet from Venice, as Marshal Radetzky had to insist that the Sardinian fleet should set sail before the restitution of those stores.

The King's Government had moreover good reasons for distrusting the promises of the Marshal, on account of the bad faith which he displayed in carrying out the other conditions of the Armistice. Article III had stipulated that the Sardinian troops should evacuate the Duchies, but it was not agreed that the Austrian forces should occupy them. Nevertheless, as soon as the Sardinians left Piacenza General Count Thurn occupied it with his troops, declared in a proclamation dated August 18, that Charles II of Bourbon was the rightful Sovereign of that country (in spite of his abdication and of the general vote of annexation to the Sardinian territories), and caused to be published a real or apocryphal proclamation, in which that Prince took the title of Duke of Parma, and assumed to himself its prerogatives. Shortly after this the Austrian General assumed the character of Military Governor, pronounced the dissolution of the national guard, suppressed the freedom of the press, increased the number of his troops, and forced the town of Piacenza to provide for their subsistence, and thus to incur so considerable an expense that its resources could only meet it in a very small proportion.

From that time forward the Austrian authorities have never ceased from loading the people in those parts of the duchies held by the Imperial troops with insupportable impositions and vexations. A decree dated December 14 puts a finishing stroke to this system of ruin by declaring Piacenza to be in a state of siege.

In the Duchy of Modena, to which Prince Francis V had returned after the Armistice, under the protection of Austrian bayonets, the same system of vexation, illegality, and violence, has been made use of under the protection of the Imperial troops.

Recourse has been had to means not to be avowed, in order to establish there the Government of a Sovereign whom the public wish had driven out of his States.

But far more rigorous measures and more brutal justice were adopted at the same time with respect to the unhappy population of Lombardy.

The Capitulation of the 5th of August had guaranteed the lives and properties of the inhabitants of Milan; it was on that condition that our troops left that town. The Vth Article of the Armistice of the 9th of August had also placed persons and property in the countries which we were evacuating, under the protection of the Imperial Government. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, by a decree dated September 20, had granted an amnesty to the persons who had taken part in the events of Lombardy. Notwithstanding these engagements, and in contempt of such sacred guarantees, the Austrian military rulers have never ceased since their return to Lombardy, from ordering most arbitrary and oppressive measures.

A state of siege, prosecutions, penalties, forfeitures, organized plunderings, summary executions, without distinction of age or condition in persons, without regard to modifying circumstances, and on the slightest grounds, are

facts sufficiently well known to all Europe, which has already expressed its severe but just disapproval of them, that it is enough only to advert to them here.

Since the Armistice they have continued those same acts of barbarity which during the war-time caused terror to the whole population. Acts of cruelty which it is disagreeable to relate, but the fact of which is proved in the most incontestable manner, plainly attest a feeling of animosity which knows no limits.

Without quoting that long series of decrees which the Milanese Official Gazette has recorded, we will confine ourselves to reciting those of Marshal Radetzky of the 11th of November and 30th of December last. The first imposes enormous contributions upon the persons who took part in the Lombard Revolution, even by their intellectual exertions. The other fixes as respects the emigrants a period for their return, after which their properties will be sequestrated.

An unjust system of spoliation has thus been put in force under the name of contributions, extraordinary war-taxes, &c. Most illegal sentences of confiscation have been pronounced against unfortunate emigrants, in whom it has been considered a crime to prefer exile to oppression against which formal promises have proved to be no secure guarantee.

It appears from official documents, that Lombardy alone has been taxed since the Armistice, in the shape of extraordinary impositions, in the sum of about 40,000,000 livres; and if 30,000,000 of ordinary taxes be added, she will have supplied to Austrian cupidity in that short interval, 70,000,000 livres; and as these extortions are to be continued, one may calculate upon more than 160,000,000 as the sum which she will have produced during the year; that is to say, almost the half of the taxes of the whole of the Austrian Empire. Now the population of Lombardy is two millions and a half, that of the empire thirty-four millions of inhabitants.

The intention of Austria is therefore plainly to consign to total ruin the provinces which by a voluntary vote annexed themselves to the Sardinian dominions.

Nothing proves better the blind hatred which actuates the Austrian authorities than the step which they took on the 24th of December last to send back from the frontier carriages containing travellers coming from the King's territories, to prevent the introduction of newspapers, and finally to put every species of obstacle in the way of the usual relations between the countries. And this step, contrary to all that is usual and proper as concerns international relations, has been taken without any plausible motive, with a caprice which no one can justify, and without any attention being paid to the serious disturbance which it occasions in the habits of necessary communication between two neighbouring countries. A fact of a still more serious character, and which has been pointed out by the French Consular Agent at Ancona, has lately come to the knowledge of the King's Government. The Austrian fleet, in spite of the conditions of the Armistice and the assurances which the Ministers of the mediating Powers at Turin have received, seizes all Italian vessels which it falls in with in the Adriatic, and is thus engaged in acts of hostility and measures of violence which the principle of the freedom of the sea loudly condemns.

The King's Government, with the just confidence which it has placed in the generous mediation of France and England, has already protested to those Powers against the manifest violation of the conditions of the Armistice, and against the way in which Austria has abused her strength by despoiling and putting to death persons whom formal conventions and the law of nations ought to have protected from measures, of which no example is now to be found amongst civilized nations.

It now remains to the King's Government to fulfil the duty of making a similar protest to all other foreign Powers, and to declare that it leaves with Austria the entire responsibility for the fatal consequences which its contempt for sacred engagements and the violence of its measures, may bring about as regards Italy and the whole of Europe.

The Undersigned, &c., consequently request M. ——— to be so good as to bring this communication under the consideration of his Government, and he avails himself, &c.,

(Signed) GIOBERTI.

No. 93.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 6.)

My Lord,

Venice, January 25, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Sardinian Admiral Albini has arrived here from Ancona, together with a portion of the Sardinian squadron, consisting of two steamers, two brigs, and one corvette, which have entered this port.

The total number of Sardinian vessels now in this port consists of four steamers, one of which is under repair in the arsenal, one corvette, two brigs, and one transport.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 94.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 6.)

(Extract.)

Venice, January 28, 1849. *

I TRANSMIT to your Lordship herewith a copy and translation of a decree published yesterday by the Provisional Government of Venice, whereby the "Monte di Pietà" is empowered to seize for the use of the State upon all articles of gold and silver, excepting articles of personal ornament, such as watches, rings, &c., which it now holds in pledge, and which shall not have been redeemed before the 5th of February next.

The Monte di Pietà will pay to the owners the intrinsic value, with the addition of 15 per cent. for workmanship, of the articles thus seized upon, deducting the amount of the sums hitherto advanced upon them.

The want of specie is much felt here, and the premium upon silver has risen to 9 per cent. and is daily augmenting.

A new forced loan of 6,000,000 livres (about 200,000*l.*) is said to be in contemplation by the Provisional Government; but this measure, if carried into effect, will probably only lead to the still further depreciation of the paper currency.

In the meantime I see no indication whatever on the part of the authorities here of a disposition to make any change in their policy; on the contrary, all their proceedings seem directed to persevere in their resistance.

Inclosure in No. 94.

Decree of the Provisional Government of Venice.

Il Governo Provvisorio di Venezia,

CONSIDERATO che le Leggi 12 Luglio, 1848, No. 10,467, e 16 Agosto susseguente, No. 86, concernenti il prestito d'ori ed argenti, non escludono quelli che fossero messi in pegno presso il Monte di Pietà; e quindi anche i medesimi avrebbero dovuto essere consegnati alla Zecca Nazionale per convertirsi in moneta, contro rilascio di cartelle di credito pubblico, fruttanti l'annuo 5 per cento;

Considerata l'utilità che deriverebbe al paese da una maggiore quantità di numerario circolante;

Considerato eziandio il bisogno in cui si trova il Monte di realizzare qualche somma di rilievo per soddisfare alle domande dei ricorrenti e corrispondere agli assunti impegni;

Trovando d'altra parte conveniente d'usare un equo riguardo alla condizione economica delle persone che ordinariamente profittano di quella pia istituzione;

Dietro proposizione della Delegazione Provinciale e del Municipio di Venezia,

Decreta:

1. Quelli che a tutto il giorno 26 corrente hanno consegnato al Monte di Pietà a titolo di pegno capi d'oro o d'argento, hanno diritto di riscattarli con le solite norme fino al giorno 5 Febbraio prossimo venturo inclusivamente.

2. Trascorso questo periodo, i capi d'oro e d'argento non riscattati s'intendono acquistati dalla Direzione del Monte, al prezzo equivalente al loro valore intrinseco, secondo la stima che ne sarà fatta dalla Zecca Nazionale, aggiuntovi il 15 per cento per corrispettivo del lavoro.

3. La Direzione del Monte tratterrà dal prezzo la somma di cui va creditrice a titolo di prestito ed accessori, calcolando gl' interessi a tutto il giorno 5 Febbraio p. v., e pagherà il residuo al pignorante entro il giorno 5 Marzo susseguente.

5. Gli oggetti di abbigliamento personale (come orioli, collane, orecchini, anelli, smanigli o manini, e simili) non sono contemplati dalla presente disposizione, e potranno in conseguenza essere riscattati nei periodi e coi metodi ordinarii, a termini dei relativi bullettini di pegno.

Venezia, 27 Gennaio, 1849.

(Firmato)

MANIN.
GRAZIANI.
CAVEDALIS.

(Translation.)

The Provisional Government of Venice,

CONSIDERING that the Laws of the 19th July, 1848, No. 10, 467, and of the 16th August following, No. 86, relative to the loan of articles of gold and silver, do not exclude those articles which may have been pledged at the "Monte di Pietà," and that consequently such articles ought to have been delivered up to the National Mint to be converted into money against the delivery of receipts of the public debt bearing interest at 5 per cent. ;

Considering the benefit which the country would derive from an increase in the specie circulation ;

Considering further the necessity in which the Monte di Pietà actually finds itself of realising a sum of money to meet the demands of persons having recourse to it and to satisfy existing engagements ;

Considering it just, on the other hand, to have a due regard to the condition and circumstances of those persons who for the most part have recourse to it ;

On the proposition of the Provincial Delegation and Municipality of Venice;

Decrees:

1. Those persons who up to the 26th instant inclusive may have delivered as pledges to the Monte di Pietà articles of gold or silver, have the right to redeem the same on the usual terms until the 5th of February next inclusive.

2. All articles of gold and silver which at the expiration of the above-named period may be unredeemed, shall be considered to have become the property of the Directors of the Monte di Pietà, at prices equivalent to their intrinsic value according to the valuation of the National Mint, with the addition of 15 per cent. for the workmanship.

3. The Directors of the Monte di Pietà shall deduct from the price of the articles so valued the amount for which they may be creditors, with charges thereon, calculating the interest up to the 5th of February next inclusive, and shall pay over the balance to the parties who may have pledged the articles, previous to the 5th of March following.

4. Articles of personal ornament or use (such as watches, necklaces, earrings, rings, chains, and the like) are not contemplated by the present measure, and may consequently be redeemed within the usual periods and in the customary way, according to the conditions on their respective tickets.

Venice, January 27, 1849.

(Signed)

MANIN.
GRAZIANI.
CAVEDALIS.

No. 95.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 6.)

My Lord,

Venice, January 28, 1849.

THE French war-steamer "Pluton" arrived here on the 26th instant from Ancona.

There are now three French steamers in this port, the "Solon," "Brazir," and "Pluton," and one, the "Asmodée," at Trieste.

Admiral Albini, whose arrival here I mentioned in my despatch of the 25th instant, departed on the following day in one of the Sardinian steamers; the remainder of the Sardinian vessels are still here and have been joined by another brig of war.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 96.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 6.)

My Lord,

Turin, January 31, 1849.

I HAVE had this morning put into my hands the notification sent by the Austrian Military Governor of Milan to the civil authorities of Lombardy, requiring them to carry into execution the provisions of the decree of the 11th November last for the sequestration of the properties belonging to certain individuals whose names are contained in List No. 1, and who have not complied within the period accorded to them, with the orders to pay into the Austrian military chests fixed sums of money as military contributions.

I have the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy and translation of the Governor of Milan's despatch, together with a copy of List No. 1.

Your Lordship will no doubt remark that the specification of List No. 1 indicates but too clearly that the present list is only the precursor of others of the same nature; and I take also at the same time the liberty to remind your Lordship that in the decree of the 11th November, 1848, Field-Marshal Radetzky has reserved to himself the power of confiscating and disposing of such properties as shall have been previously sequestered, should he deem it convenient to do so.

Your Lordship will no doubt consider under these circumstances what steps it may be possible to take with reference to a measure, the severity of which does not agree with the engagements entered into by the Marshal himself at Milan, in the month of August, and with the amnesty of the late Emperor of Austria.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 96.

Notification of the Austrian Military Governor of Milan to the Provisional Authorities of Lombardy.

ESSENDO io incaricato da sua Eccellenza il Signor Feld-Maresciallo Conte Radetzky, comandante in capo del Regno Lombardo-Veneto, di eseguire il proclama emanato del 11 Novembre, 1848, per la riscossione della contribuzione straordinaria di guerra, non posso ulteriormente differire questo importante affare. Si dovrà procedere contro quelli individui ai quali secondo le disposizioni del citato proclama fu già intimato il mandato di pagamento della relativa quota di detta imposta, essendo già decorso il termine delle sei settimane loro concesso col proclama di cui sopra, senza che abbiano finora versato le somme rispettive nella cassa di guerra.

In primo luogo sono da sottoporsi alla sequestrazione i beni di quelli indicati nella Lista No. 1.

Perciò Vossignoria viene interessata d'avere la compiacenza di fare intimare

con possibile sollecitudine le relative nozioni agli individui indicati nell'annesso elenco, facendo loro nello stesso tempo osservare nei voluti termini che per togliere ogni ulteriore dubbio riguardo agli affittaiuoli, viene stabilito che il pagamento da essi effettuato per i loro padroni a titolo della contribuzione straordinaria di guerra in Novembre scorso sarà ritenuto come atto legale e di pieno effetto in via di diritto verso chi che sia.

Al caso che gli affittaiuoli intendessero di pagare il loro fitto anticipatamente per un anno intero, o secondo i relativi contratti per uno spazio minore o maggiore, sarà loro accordato da sua Eccellenza il vantaggio d'un corrispondente ribasso. Vossignoria vorrà a tal uopo cercare affinché gli affittaiuoli in confronto dei propri padroni siano garantiti contro qualsivoglia titolo o pretesto, sotto i quali questi ultimi potrebbero rendere invalido il vantaggio loro accordato nel caso suespresso.

Di conformità alle circostanze attuali straordinarie ed allo stato di guerra in cui ci troviamo, sono pure costretto di pregare Vossignoria perchè l'autorità militare sia destinata come organo esecutivo di questa sequestrazione, ritenendo io che ciò sarà molto confacente allo scopo, venendo così da una parte facilitata la relativa sorveglianza, e raggiungendosi d'altra parte con sollecitudine il nobile intento di sua Eccellenza il Signor Feld-Maresciallo, vale a dire l'indennizzo dei signori ufficiali, impiegati, e dell'erario pel danno da loro sofferto a cagione della Rivoluzione col più possibile sollievo della popolazione bisognosa e ritornata all'ordine.

Colgo questa occasione, &c.

(Firmato)

WOHLGEMUTH,

Luogotenente Feld-Maresciallo.

LISTA No. I.

	Austro. L.		Austro. L.
Annoni, Conte Francesco	500,000	Poldi, Pezzoli Giacomo	600,000
Arese, Conte Francesco	60,000	Restalli, Avvocato Francesco ..	20,000
Baretta, Antonio	50,000	Rosales de Ordugno, Marchese ..	20,000
Borromeo, Conte Vitaliano	800,000	Strigelli, Gaetano	50,000
Borromeo, Contessa	20,000	Toffetti, Conte Vincenzo	50,000
Casati, Conte Gabriele	300,000	Torelli	60,000
Durini, Conte Ercole	20,000	Trivulzio, Belgiojoso, Principessa ..	800,000
Durini, Conte Giuseppe	60,000	Trivulzio, Marchese Giorgio	40,000
Greppi, Conte Marco	80,000	Visconti, Duca Alberto	800,000
Litta, Duca Antonio	800,000	Visconti Aini, Marchese Antonio ..	200,000
Litta, Conte Giulio	400,000		
Mauara, Luciano	40,000		5,770,000

(Translation.)

HAVING been entrusted by his Excellency Field-Marshal Count Radetzky, Commander-in-chief in the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, with the execution of his proclamation of the 11th November, 1848, for the payment of an extraordinary war contribution, I can no longer delay this important affair. Steps will have to be taken against those individuals to whom, in conformity with the dispositions of the above decree, an order for the payment of their share of that contribution has already been given, the term of six weeks granted them by the proclamation above alluded to having elapsed without their having hitherto paid their respective shares into the army chest.

The estates of those persons named in the accompanying List No. I are to be first sequestered.

To that effect you are requested without loss of time to cause the necessary notices to be conveyed to the knowledge of the individuals named in that List, making it known to them at the same time, in distinct terms, that to remove all doubts with regard to their tenants, it is decreed that payment made by them for their landlords on account of the war contribution imposed in November last, will be held as an act both legal and of full effect with regard to all persons in law proceedings.

In case the tenants should wish to pay their rent in advance for a whole year, or according to their respective leases for a greater or less period, his Excellency will allow them the benefit of a proportioned reduction. You will therefore devise means of securing the tenants against any claim or pretext which their landlords might put forward in order to deprive them of the benefit granted them in the above-mentioned case.

In conformity with the present extraordinary circumstances and with the state of war in which we are now placed, I am also obliged to request you that the execution of the above sequestration may be committed to the military authorities, as I am of opinion that it will be highly conducive to the end in view, both by facilitating the superintending of this measure and by effectually fulfilling the just intentions of his Excellency the Field-Marshal, who wishes to indemnify the officers and public servants and the treasury, for the losses they have suffered through the Revolution, without at the same pressing heavily upon the poor populations which have returned to order.

I take this occasion, &c.

(Signed) WOHLGEMUTH,
Field-Marshal, Lieutenant.

[List of twenty-two names, see above.]

No. 97.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 6.)

(Extract.)

Turin, January 31, 1849.

THE King and the Duke of Genoa returned to Turin this morning, and I have no doubt that the Duke of Savoy is also coming, if not already here.

The King and his two sons will therefore be present to-morrow at the opening of the Parliament. The King will deliver the speech from the Throne.

General Pelet is still here, and preaches peace and the folly of war in the most open and decided manner.

No. 98.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 6.)

(Extract.)

Florence, January 26, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the "Costituente" has been voted in both Chambers without opposition. So great indeed was the intimidation used on this occasion that no member of either House was found bold enough to deliver an opinion against it, although it is known that the majority of both Assemblies are opposed to it. The Moderate party are completely paralyzed. I believe it to be the intention of many deputies to abstain from attending the Chambers, as they are prevented from speaking by the persons who are allowed to invade the galleries.

No. 99.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 7.)

(Extract.)

Turin, February 2, 1849.

A PARTIAL modification in the Sardinian Cabinet has taken place by the retirement of General Sonnaz from the post of Minister of War, and the return of General Alphonse de La Marmora to the head of that department.

No. 100.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Henry Ellis.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 8, 1849.

HER Majesty's Government have been informed that the French Government and the Sardinian Plenipotentiary now at Paris think that it would be very important as an encouragement to the peace party in Piedmont, that the British, French, and Sardinian Plenipotentiaries should go at once to Brussels, even

though as yet the Austrian Government have not named their Envoy; and if you should find that this information is correct, I have to authorize you to accompany your French colleague and the Sardinian Minister to Brussels without further delay.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 101.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 8.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, January 30, 1849.

I HAD an interview with Prince Schwarzenberg this day and spoke to him upon the subject of the mission of an Austrian Plenipotentiary to Brussels. I told him that you had no intention to admit as participants in the mediation anybody except the Representatives of the French, Sardinian, Austrian, and English Governments. I pressed him to name a Plenipotentiary. He said that he considered himself under a moral obligation to proceed with the mediation and would fulfil it; but he thought there was no advantage for any party to be obtained by that mode of proceeding; and on the contrary he feared there was danger in it, namely that the Sardinian war party, which was now beaten down at Turin, might gather hope and courage from the idea that England and France would espouse the cause of Sardinia, and again demand that which the Imperial Government would never consent to give, for he said Austria would not listen to proposals for the cession of any portion of Austrian territories, nor to propositions respecting Parma and Modena which were likely to be brought forward by the Sardinians.

I said that I did not believe your Lordship intended to propose that any cession of the Lombard territory should be made, and I again pressed him to name a Plenipotentiary immediately.

After a prolonged discussion between us, he said that Count Colloredo would go to London in three or four days, and that he should discuss the matter with your Lordship. I asked if Count Colloredo would be named Plenipotentiary for Brussels. He replied that it was not yet settled.

It is evident that Prince Schwarzenberg thinks it would be easy to bring about peace between Austria and the Sardinian Government without the intervention of the mediation, and desires to take that line; and that he adheres to the mediation only to keep the engagements of his predecessor Baron Wessenberg.

It appears to me that the Prince is influenced by the intelligence he has received from Turin (well founded or not) of the want of power and also of inclination prevalent in that capital and in the country to recommence hostilities; and I think your Lordship may expect that the mediation will be got rid of by the Austrians as soon as possible after the meeting of the Plenipotentiaries at Brussels.

From the discussion of the above question I passed to another, which I thought it expedient to touch, and after having said a few words relating to the general state of Europe, I asked the Prince what he thought of a Congress (of which much had been said and written) having for its object the arrangement of political interests in such a way as to preserve peace. He said he had no objection to a Congress composed of the Representatives of the Five Great Powers, or of those of all the eight Powers signers of the Treaty of Vienna; but Austria would not, he said, consent to less than the Five Great Powers being engaged in such an affair. He added that Austria would preserve the integrity of her own dominions and would not seek for or accept of any addition to them; that it would be well if the Italians could be induced to compose their troubles at home and be quiet.

It seemed to me that Prince Schwarzenberg had in his mind the idea that Italy might be kept quiet if some declaration should be made at such a Congress, saying that none of the Powers would interfere in any Italian quarrel. The Prince meaning in fact that France should not interfere.

With respect to the intention of the Austrian Government to interfere in the affairs of the Pope, Prince Schwarzenberg repeated to me very nearly what

he had before told me, and what I reported to your Lordship to this effect, that the Roman Catholic Powers think it necessary that the Pope should be resident at Rome and be free, and that for this end the conjoint action of Austria, France, and Naples should be agreed upon, and that if necessary, the Neapolitans should advance into the Roman territories, the Austrians do the same on their frontier, and the French send a squadron to Civita Vecchia.

The terms upon which the Pope should return to Rome to be left to him and the Romans to settle.

The Prince had spoken fully on this matter to M. Humann, who went to Paris to communicate it to the French Government; but no decisive answer had yet arrived from thence. The Prince spoke of the proposition made by the Spanish Government (which is well known to your Lordship), and said he had put it aside as civilly as possible in consequence of the difficulties which would attend it owing to the distance of the Spanish Government, and to avoid the complication which would arise if many parties should be engaged in the affair.

The accounts from the Milanese received by the Austrian Government differ extremely from those which reach your Lordship. Prince Schwarzenberg told me that men belonging to Milan and natives of Lombardy report to him that the mass of the people, oppressed with poverty occasioned by the destruction of trade, anxiously wish for peace upon any terms, but are afraid to express their wishes because they are exposed to the vengeance of a set of men who threaten with assassination everybody suspected of being wanting in devotion to the enemies of the Austrians, and that it is by terror people have been prevented becoming deputies in the assembly summoned to meet for the consideration of public affairs. I am of opinion that the Prince believes the above.

In reply to your Lordship's inquiry on what terms the Grand Duke of Tuscany is with the Austrian Government I have to repeat what Prince Schwarzenberg said to me on the subject, namely, that in the Grand Duke's late speech to the Chamber of Deputies in Florence, His Imperial Highness spoke of his being at peace with all the Powers of Europe excepting with Austria. The Grand Duke's acts and this speech show the fact of war, though His Imperial Highness made it without any previous declaration of it.

No. 102.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 9.)

My Lord,

Turin, February 2, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a printed copy in Italian, together with a translation into English, of the speech made by His Sardinian Majesty at the opening of the session of the Sardinian Parliament on the 1st instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 102.

Speech of the King of Sardinia on the opening of the Chambers, February 1, 1849.

Signori Senatori e Deputati,

GRATO e soave conforto al mio cuore è il ritrovarmi fra voi, che rappresentate sì degnamente la nazione, e il convenire a questa solenne apertura del Parlamento.

Quando esso s'inaugurava per la prima volta, diversa era la nostra fortuna, ma non maggiore la nostra speranza; anzi questa nei forti è accresciuta, perchè all'efficacia dei nostri antichi titoli si aggiunge l'ammaestramento dell'esperienza, il merito della prova, il coraggio e la costanza nella sventura.

L'opera a cui dovrete attendere in questa seconda sessione è moltiplice, varia, difficile e tanto più degna di voi.

Riguardo agli ordini interni dovrà esser nostra cura di svolgere le istituzioni che possediamo, metterle in armonia perfetta col genio, coi bisogni del secolo, e proseguire alacramente quell' assunto che verrà compiuto dall' Assembla Costituente del Regno dell' Alta Italia.

Il Governo costituzionale si aggira sopra due cardini: il Re ed il Popolo. Dal primo nasce l'unità e la forza, dal secondo la libertà e il progresso della nazione.

Io feci e fo la mia parte, ordinando fra i miei popoli libere istituzioni, conferendo i carichi e gli onori al merito e non alla fortuna, componendo la mia Corte coll' eletta dello Stato, consacrando la mia vita e quella de' miei figli alla salute e indipendenza della patria.

Voi mi avete degnamente aiutato nella difficile impresa. Continuate a farlo e persuadetevi che dall' unione intima dei nostri sforzi dee nascere la felicità e la salute comune.

Ci aiuteranno nel nobile arringo l'affetto e la stima delle nazioni più colte ed illustri d'Europa, e specialmente di quelle che ci sono congiunte coi vincoli comuni della nazionalità e della patria. A stringere viemeglio questi nodi fraterni intesero le nostre industrie; e se gli ultimi eventi dell' Italia Centrale hanno sospeso l'effetto delle nostre pratiche, portiamo fiducia che non siano per impedirlo lungamente. La confederazione dei Principi e dei Popoli Italiani è uno dei voti più cari del nostro cuore, e useremo ogni studio per mandarla prontamente ad effetto.

I miei Ministri vi dichiareranno più partitamente qual sia la politica del Governo intorno alle quistioni che agitano la Penisola, e mi affido che siate per giudicarla sapiente, generosa, e nazionale.

A me si aspetta il parlarvi delle nostre armi e della nostra indipendenza, scopo supremo d'ogni nostra cura. Le schiere dell' esercito sono rifatte, accrescite, fiorenti, e gareggiano di bellezza, di eroismo colla nostra flotta; e io testè visitandole potei ritrarre dai loro volti e dai loro applausi qual sia il patrio ardore che le infiamma.

Tutto ci fa sperare che la mediazione offertaci da due Potentati generosi ed amici sia per aver pronto fine. E quando la nostra fiducia fosse delusa, ciò non c'impedirebbe di ripigliare la guerra con ferma speranza della vittoria.

Ma per vincere uopo è che all' esercito concorra la nazione; e ciò, o Signori, sta in voi. Ciò sta in mano di quelle provincie che sono parte così preziosa del nostro regno e del nostro cuore; le quali aggiungono alle virtù comuni il vanto proprio della costanza e del martirio. Consolatevi dei sacrifici che dovrete fare, perchè questi riusciranno brevi e il frutto sarà perpetuo. Prudenza e ardore insieme accoppiati ci salveranno. Tale, o Signori, è il mio voto, tale è l'ufficio vostro; nel cui adempimento avrete sempre l'esempio del vostro Principe.

(Translation.)

Senators and Deputies,

IT is grateful and consolatory to my heart to find myself again amongst you, who so worthily represent the nation, and to be present at this solemn opening of Parliament.

When it met for the first time, the circumstances in which we were placed were different, but our hopes were not greater, and the latter ought even, in strong-minded men, to have increased, because to the strength of our former position are now added the lessons of experience, tried merit, and courage and constancy in adversity.

Your business in this second session will be complicated, varied, difficult, and on that account the more worthy of you.

With regard to our internal affairs it will be our object to develop our institutions, to place them in perfect harmony with the spirit and with the wants of the present age, and eagerly to prosecute the task which will be completed by the Constituent Assembly of the Kingdom of Upper Italy.

The Constitutional Government will turn upon two points, the King and the people. From the first come unity and force, and from the second the liberty and progress of the nation.

I have done and still do my duty, by bringing free institutions into operation amongst my people; conferring offices and honours on merit and not on

wealth; composing my Court of the most distinguished persons in the State; and devoting my life and that of my sons to the safety and independence of the country.

You have worthily assisted me in this difficult undertaking. Continue to do so, and be assured that our common welfare and happiness must arise from the intimate union of our efforts.

The esteem and the best wishes of the most civilized and illustrious nations of Europe, and especially of those that are connected with us by the common ties of nationality and country, will accompany us in our noble undertaking. Our attention has been drawn to the means of further strengthening these brotherly ties; and although the late events in Central Italy have delayed the effects of our negotiations, we trust that they will not much longer be an obstacle to the attainment of our object. The Confederation of the Italian Princes and people is one of the dearest wishes of my heart, and I will use every endeavour to bring it speedily into operation.

My Ministers will explain to you more in detail the line of policy of the Government with regard to the questions which disturb the Peninsula, and I trust that you will think it wise, generous and national.

It is I who have to speak to you of our arms and of our independence, the great end of all our efforts. The troops are reorganized, increased, in the best order and they rival our fleet in appearance and in bravery; I have in visiting them read in their countenances and in their applause the patriotic ardour which inflames them.

We have every reason to hope that the mediation offered us by two generous and friendly Powers is drawing to a speedy conclusion. And if our hopes are deceived, it will not prevent our resuming the war with firm hopes of victory.

But it is necessary in order to be successful, that the nation concur with the army, and this, gentlemen, depends upon you. It depends upon those provinces which are so precious a part of our kingdom and so dear to my heart, and which to the virtues common to us all add the further merit of constancy and suffering. Do not regret the sacrifices which you will be called upon to make, for you will thus speedily accomplish our object, and the results will be lasting. The union of prudence and boldness will preserve us. Such, gentlemen, is my wish, and such is your duty, in the fulfilment of which you will always have the example of your Prince.

No. 103.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 9.)

My Lord,

Florence, January 30, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that General de la Tour, who commands the Swiss troops in Bologna in the service of His Holiness, and which amount to about 1200 men, has received orders from the Pope to leave Bologna and march upon the Abruzzi, probably with a view of making a junction with General Zucchi.

As soon as it was known in Bologna that the General was about to obey the orders of the Pontiff and leave Bologna, the greatest excitement prevailed in the town. The clubs, the civic guard and the people declared that the departure of the troops should be prevented by force. Barricades were immediately erected to prevent them from leaving Bologna.

During Sunday the 28th the town was in the greatest confusion. The fear of a great effusion of blood being general, the Governor of the town and province of Bologna (under the Revolutionary Government of Rome), Colonel Berti Pichat, sent off a special messenger to me on the evening of that day, who arrived at my house yesterday morning with a letter which I have the honour to inclose herewith in translation, setting forth the deplorable consequences that would probably arise if General de Latour obeyed the orders of His Holiness, and requesting me to interest the Diplomatic Body residing in Florence in behalf of the inhabitants of Bologna, in order that they might express their disapprobation of a line of conduct on the part of General de Latour, which Colonel Berti Pichat says no military honour can justify. The Governor forwarded to me copies of a correspondence which had taken place between him and General

de Latour in the course of the day, in which the General appealed to his unblemished reputation as a soldier during forty years, and said he would not tarnish that reputation by disobeying the orders of his Sovereign. He consented however to delay the departure of his troops till to-day, in order that time should be given for a reference to me.

Although I am not without serious apprehension that there may be effusion of blood at Bologna in consequence of General de Latour's leaving that city, yet I conceived that it would be improper in me to attempt to interpose between a Sovereign and his General in endeavouring to engage him to disobey those orders. I therefore wrote to the Governor of Bologna a letter, copy of which is inclosed, stating that however deeply I should deplore a collision between the Swiss troops and the people of Bologna, I felt myself unable to comply with his request in endeavouring to influence the Foreign Ministers residing in Florence in the manner he had pointed out.

Trusting that Her Majesty's Government will approve of what I have thought it my duty to do in this matter,

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 103.

The Governor of Bologna to Sir George Hamilton.

(Translation.)

M. le Ministre,

Bologna, January 28, 1849.

ALTHOUGH it is perhaps exceeding my powers to place myself in direct relation with you, nevertheless the case is so serious, and the dangers which threaten us are so great, that I do not hesitate to appeal to your noble mind in favour of a country about to be plunged in civil war. Mr. Courtenay, the bearer of these presents, will explain to you the state of affairs more fully by word of mouth. Meanwhile let it suffice that I mention that the Swiss garrison intend to quit this town, leaving the place unguarded, which course reasons of public safety have induced me to oppose, as you will see by my accompanying letter. The people will oppose their departure in every way; therefore we are on the eve of a great effusion of blood. Will you, M. le Ministre, in your goodness, interest in our behalf the Diplomatic Body residing at Florence, in order that they may express their disapprobation of a line of conduct which no military honour can justify.

The generosity with which you, Sir, protested in August last against the inhumanity of Welden, assures me that in this case you will also, for the sake of humanity, take an interest in our situation, and send us some communication that may turn aside the tempest which is impending over us.

The President,
(Signed) C. BERTI PICHAT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 103.

Sir George Hamilton to the Governor of Bologna.

(Translation.)

M. le President,

Florence, January 29, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed letter of yesterday's date. Although I am deeply afflicted when I contemplate the danger of a collision between the troops commanded by General de Latour and the people of Bologna, I regret at the same time that is not in my power to recommend to that General a disobedience to the orders of his Sovereign enjoining him to leave Bologna.

Grieved as I am that it is not in my power to oblige you on this occasion,

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. B. HAMILTON.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 10.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 9, 1849.

SINCE the arrival of your Lordship's messenger this morning, I have seen Sir Henry Ellis, and have given him the despatch forwarded to me by your Lordship under flying seal. I have also seen M. Ricci, who expresses great satisfaction at the approaching departure of the Plenipotentiaries for Brussels, which he says will give great strength to the moderate party in the Parliament at Turin.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys has just been with me, and we have settled that Sir H. Ellis and M. de Lagrenée shall leave this for Brussels on Sunday next. I communicated to M. Drouyn de Lhuys a portion of Lord Ponsonby's despatch, in which he states that Prince Schwarzenberg had announced his intention still to send a Plenipotentiary to Brussels, but not to make any cession of territory.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys said great interests were at stake and great results dependent upon the manner in which Austria entered upon these conferences. If she contented herself with saying that she came there to consider the terms of peace with Sardinia, and that we found on examining into these terms that she was not disposed to make any territorial concession, the question would then arise whether that would be a case of war; he for one should certainly say not, and should endeavour to consider the most equitable terms within these limits; but if Austria, before entering upon these conferences, began with any haughty declaration of what she would or what she would not listen to, it might be difficult for the French Government to meet her if such were her temper.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys evidently desires a peaceable solution of these difficulties, but contemplates the possibility of the reverse.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

Sir H. Ellis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 10.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 9, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch dated the 8th instant, and to inform you that in obedience to your Lordship's instructions I propose to leave Paris immediately for Brussels with the French and Sardinian Plenipotentiaries.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. ELLIS.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 10, 1848.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 30th ultimo respecting an application made to you by the Governor of Bologna that you should invite the Diplomatic Body at Florence to express their disapprobation of the intention of General de la Tour, the Commander of the Swiss troops in Bologna, to obey the orders of the Pope for the withdrawal of those troops from that town; and I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve of your having refused to comply with that application.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 107.

*Viscount Palmerston to Prince Castelcicala.**Foreign Office, February 10, 1849.*

THE Undersigned, &c., has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which Prince Castelcicala, &c., addressed to him on the 2nd instant, giving an account of what has passed with reference to a proposition made by the Court of Madrid, that the principal Roman Catholic Powers should take into their consideration with a view to their settlement, the affairs of His Holiness the Pope, and calling the attention of the Undersigned to the fact that the Cabinet of Naples considers it necessary, and formally demands that England, Prussia, and Russia should take part in the proposed deliberations, the matter to be treated of, independently of its religious bearing, being one calculated to have a great influence of a political character.

The Undersigned has the honour to state to Prince Castelcicala in reply, that the Government of His Sicilian Majesty only does justice to the Government of Her Majesty in supposing that Her Majesty's Government would feel great pleasure in contributing, as far as they might properly be able to do so, to bring about such an amicable arrangement of the differences existing between the Pope and his subjects as might enable the Pope to return to Rome, and might also restore permanent contentment and tranquillity to the Roman States.

Her Majesty's Government, however, have not received any specific application on this subject from the Pope; and until such application is made, they are unable to say what steps, if any, Her Majesty's Government might think it expedient to take in regard to these matters.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

PALMERSTON.

No. 108.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 10.)

My Lord,

Turin, February 5, 1849.

YOUR Lordship is aware that shortly after the entrance into office of the present Sardinian Cabinet, the Senator Plezza was appointed Sardinian Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Naples.

The above-mentioned nomination was made, and Senator Plezza was dispatched to Naples to enter upon the duties of his post, without the Cabinet of Turin having previously obtained an assurance from the Government of His Sicilian Majesty, that the appointment of M. Plezza was agreeable to them or that he would be received by the Court of Naples.

On the arrival of M. Plezza at Naples difficulties arose about his reception, and Count Ludolf, Neapolitan Chargé d'Affaires at this Court, was instructed to represent to the Sardinian Government, that M. Plezza would not be received at Naples in the diplomatic post to which he had been appointed; but Count Ludolf was at the same time instructed to declare that the Neapolitan Government in adopting this decision had no desire to come to an open rupture with Sardinia, or to throw impediments in the way of a good understanding between the two countries.

This declaration of the Neapolitan Government has however been followed by the determination on the part of the Cabinet of Turin to break off diplomatic relations with Naples, and Count Ludolf received his passports on Saturday night and will leave Turin in a day or two.

M. Plezza and the Duc de Dino have already quitted Naples on their return to Sardinia.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 109.

The Earl of Westmorland to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 12.)

My Lord,

Berlin, February 8, 1849.

YOUR Lordship will be aware that the Neapolitan Government has proposed a meeting of Plenipotentiaries from the different Governments for the purpose of taking into consideration the measures most advisable to be adopted in support of the restoration of the Papal authority in Rome.

This communication having been made to this Government the reply has been, that if the proposal for this meeting is agreed to by the other Governments, the Prussian Government will adhere to it.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

WESTMORLAND.

No. 110.

The Hon. W. Temple to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 12.)

My Lord,

Naples, January 30, 1849.

YESTERDAY being the anniversary of the day on which the Constitution was granted, an intention was manifested by some of the Liberal party to celebrate it by an illumination, and handbills to that effect had been circulated the evening before.

The Government however fearing that disorder might arise from such a demonstration, took measures to prevent it, and towards evening troops were posted in the square adjoining the Palace and strong detachments patrolled the Toledo and the neighbouring streets.

The police seized some men who were carrying about small lamps for sale, and having induced the persons who had assembled to disperse, by 9 o'clock the streets were cleared and the troops had retired to their quarters.

A few stones were thrown at the troops by the populace and a detachment of soldiers fired some shots over the heads of the people to intimidate them, but quiet was re-established without any serious collision having taken place or any severe injury having been sustained.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

W. TEMPLE.

No. 111.

The Hon. W. Temple to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 12.)

My Lord,

Naples, January 31, 1849.

THE Chambers will meet on the 1st of February, and the members are invited by the President of the Chamber of Deputies previously to attend a mass, at which the Peers are also expected to be present.

The King is at Gaeta, and there will be no speech delivered in his name, as the Chambers are considered to have been adjourned only and not prorogued.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

W. TEMPLE.

No. 112.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 13, 1849.

I HAVE to acquaint you that Sir Henry Ellis and M. Lagrenée, who have been appointed to represent the Governments of England and France in the conferences to be held at Brussels for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation between the Governments of Austria and Sardinia, were to proceed to Brussels from Paris on the 11th instant.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

PALMERSTON.

No. 113.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 13.)

(Extract.)

Turin, February 8, 1849.

GENERAL the Chevalier Alphonse de La Marmora has resigned the office of Minister of War, to which he was appointed a few days ago, and he has been succeeded by General Chiodo, who acted as Chief of the Staff of the Sardinian army for the period between the resignation of that office by General Count Salasco and the assumption of it by General Chrzanowski.

No. 114.

Lord Cowley to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 14.)

My Lord,

Frankfort, February 11, 1849.

M. DE GAGERN read to me this morning a communication which he had received from the Austrian Plenipotentiary to the Central Power, relative to the policy which Austria is partly determined and partly wishes to pursue in Italy, and which was made to him in consequence of his having requested some time back a communication of the kind.

The language of the Austrian Government is nearly identic with that held to Lord Ponsonby, as stated in his Lordship's despatch of the 30th ultimo. It is determined with regard to Lombardy and Sardinia, and expressive of its wishes with respect to the rest of Italy.

The only new point which I observed was, that the Neapolitan Government had proposed that a Congress of the European Powers should assemble at Gaeta or Naples to treat of the affairs of Italy, to which Austria had no objection.

In case the Government of Frankfort expressed the desire to assist at this Congress, should it take place, M. de Schmerling is directed to say that Austria would not object to it, but that England and France would probably do so, as the Central Power had not been recognized by either, in which case Austria would not feel herself at liberty to press for the admittance of any Power not a party to the Treaties of 1815.

I have, &c.

(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 115.

Sir Hamilton Seymour to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 15.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, February 8, 1849.

LITTLE disposed as I am to come forward as the apologist of the ultra-Liberal party in Rome, and little qualified as I must admit myself to be of judging of affairs in which I have so long ceased to take any part, I trust your Lordship will pardon me if I observe that the great importance attached by leading persons at Rome to the separation of the temporal from the spiritual authority of Rome may readily be explained by the very unfortunate influence which experience shows to be possessed by the one over the other of these jurisdictions.

It will be in your Lordship's recollection, as it is no doubt in that of some of the leading men of Rome, that upon my taking leave of the late Pope in the year 1832, His Holiness repeated to me his assurance not only of his intention to maintain the moderate concessions already made to popular wants, but of his firm resolution to extend these concessions in such manner as according to the expression at that period commonly and delusively used, to found a new era.

This engagement was notified by the solemn word of Gregory XVI, not only as Sovereign but as a conscientious man.

PART 4.

Q

Now as it cannot fail to be remembered throughout the Roman States that promises made by a temporal Prince, the head of the Roman Catholic Church as he was, and a conscientious man as he stated himself to be, were so completely broken that at the end of a few months not only had the projected reforms not been undertaken, but previous concessions had been all resumed, the mistrust of the Romans in engagements entered into by a Potentate possessed of the same all-extensive powers appears intelligible.

I make this observation not invidiously or from any doubts as to the good intentions of the present Pope, but because it perhaps explains the feelings entertained in Italy in general. The future occupant of St. Peter's chair may prefer Gregory XVI to Pius IX as the model for his political conduct, and those who are now so intent upon separating the spiritual power of the Pontiff may therefore possibly become reconciled to the co-existence of the two authorities, if through the guarantee of those Powers who are so eager to carry assistance to Rome, or by means of any other equally solemn pledge, they can obtain full security against the infallibility of their Sovereign and against a possible relapse into a state of things ill-suited to the spirit of the nineteenth century.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. H. SEYMOUR.

No. 116.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 15.)

My Lord,

Turin, February 10, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that a Royal decree has been published for the formation of a Polish Legion, to consist of 725 men, forming a battalion of infantry and a squadron of cavalry.

The commandants of the legion and of the battalion and squadron composing it, two-thirds at least of the commissioned officers, and all the non-commissioned officers and privates, are to be natives of Poland, and will be enlisted for the duration of the war, at the end of which they will at their choice be incorporated in other regiments or discharged with a gratification of six months' pay.

This decree contains no provisions with regard to the uniform, cockade, and colours to be borne by the Polish Legion; it is therefore to be supposed that they will be the same as those used by the rest of the Sardinian army.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 117.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 16.)

My Lord,

Vienna, February 10, 1849.

COUNT COLLOREDO leaves Vienna this evening on his road to London. He is directed to endeavour to engage your Lordship to put an end to the mediation, upon the ground of its inutility for the purpose of making peace between Austria and Sardinia.

Prince Schwarzenberg's despatch to Count Colloredo, which he will receive at Brussels, has been communicated to me, and you will be prepared for the proposition that may be made.

I have little doubt of your establishing a Congress for more general purposes with the consent of the Imperial Government if you shall desire to do so, but I will not take upon myself to speak positively as to that matter.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 118.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 16.)

(Extract.)

Turin, February 10, 1849.

THE Sardinian Government have this morning received information from Florence, that His Imperial and Royal Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany had quitted Sienna, after having nominated a Commission for the transaction of public business.

The Grand Duke had taken the direction towards the Maremma, but it was not positively known to what place it was his intention to proceed.

No. 119.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 16.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 15, 1849.

M. DROUYN DE LHUYS told me that M. Thom had read to him a despatch from Prince Schwarzenberg, in which it was stated that the Sardinian fleet ought to be withdrawn from the Adriatic before the commencement of the conferences. M. Drouyn de Lhuys said the phrase used in the despatch did not necessarily convey a distinct demand, but might merely be the indication of what was considered expedient and proper. The Prince went on however to say that he trusted the French Government would obtain this previous step from the Cabinet of Turin. M. Drouyn de Lhuys then repeated to me his answer, which was to the effect, that if it was intended to require the retirement of the Sardinian fleet as a facility for the attack at this moment upon Venice, certainly the French Government could not take any step to encourage such an attempt, which, putting the construction of the Armistice entirely out of the question, would be considered as at variance with the whole spirit of the mediation which contemplated a complete suspension of hostilities. If on the other hand Austria meant that the maintenance of the Sardinian fleet there was apparently founded on an unjust suspicion of her intentions, supposing that during the mediation she would attack Venice, whilst she certainly had no such hostile intentions, then France would not only answer for the withdrawal of the Sardinian fleet, but would also recall whatever vessels she might herself have on the waters of Venice. He requested M. Thom to communicate this answer to his Government, and to say that France would be contented with his simple assurance on this subject. M. Thom promised to write at once to Vienna, but held out no expectation of a favourable answer, and left M. Drouyn de Lhuys with the impression that this new demand was meant as a preliminary calculated to impede the opening of the conferences at Brussels, and threatening to the peace of that part of the world, as it was bringing to a point a most embarrassing question just on that spot where hostilities were most likely to recommence.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 120.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 17.)

(Extract.)

Paris, February 17, 1849.

I INCLOSE for your Lordship's information the "Constitutionnel" of this morning, which gives a full report of the Abbé Gioberti's speech in the Sardinian Chamber of Deputies.

I have already had occasion to state to your Lordship that all my information, derived from various sources, with respect to Italian politics, led me to believe that Abbé Gioberti was about to make a vigorous effort to sustain

the cause of Constitutional Monarchy in Italy, and to postpone to that which he considered the first necessity for the regeneration of his country, all other considerations.

There is no doubt the disorganized condition of so large a portion of Italy, and the amount of turbulent discontent existing in Sardinia itself, will render this task one of considerable difficulty; but I hold its success to be by no means improbable if Austria can only be induced in due regard for the great interests which she herself has at stake, to act with moderation under these altered circumstances, and to forget the causes of just complaint she may conceive herself to have against Charles Albert in consideration of the immense service it may be peculiarly in his power at this moment to effect for the cause of order and settled Government.

No. 121.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 18.)

(Extract.)

Turin, February 12, 1849.

THE Austrians not being able in Lombardy to get the provincial congregations to elect Deputies to serve in the Austrian Parliament, are now about to name persons for this office themselves; but the gentleman they had chosen to represent Milan, has positively refused to go. I have no doubt that other examples of this sort will occur. The engineers whom it was wished to employ on the sequestered properties of the Lombard exiles, have also declined the proffered offices.

No. 122.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 18.)

My Lord,

Florence, February 1, 1849.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 30th ultimo, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that General de Latour, commanding the Swiss troops at Bologna, finding that it was impossible to carry into effect his intention of leaving the city without a sanguinary conflict with the people, has written a letter to the Governor of Bologna, of which I herewith inclose a translation, stating that it was his intention to remain and to continue to do the garrison duty of the town.

I understand that the General was induced to alter his resolution by the advice of the Bishop of Bologna, Cardinal Ofizzari, and the priests, who were fearful of the consequences that might arise both to the Swiss and to themselves.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 122.

General de Latour to the Governor of Bologna.

(Translation.)

M. le Lieutenant-Colonel,

Bologna, January 29, 1849.

I FIND it impossible to refuse the unanimous wish evinced by this people, and I have the honour to inform you, Sir, that I have ordered the brigade which I command to remain in its quarters, and from to-morrow the 30th to recommence their regular garrison duty.

The plains of Vicenza manifest our sympathy for the Italian cause, and I personally assure you that I am ready to do for the town of Bologna, which has received us with so much kindness, everything in my power that is not openly in contradiction with military honour, which a soldier neither can nor ought ever to transgress.

(Signed) DE LATOUR.

No. 123.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 18.)

(Extract.)

Florence, February 6, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Grand Duke of Tuscany went on the 30th ultimo to visit his family at Sienna.

On his arrival there he was received by the acclamations of the inhabitants, and in the evening an immense concourse of people assembled before the Palace and called for the Grand Duke, who on appearing on the balcony was greeted with the cry of "Down with the Constituent!" "Down with the Clubs!" "Long live the Royal Family of Naples!" &c. The civic guard, in number about 1500, are all animated with similar sentiments.

As soon as this intelligence reached Florence, the Ministry wrote a pressing letter to the Grand Duke to entreat him to return, but His Royal Highness not having acceded to their request, they dispatched the Gonfaloniere of Florence, and the General commanding the civic guard, to Sienna, to say that they could not answer for the peace of the capital if it was supposed that His Royal Highness encouraged the reactionary movement at Sienna. These gentlemen have returned to Florence without success; the Grand Duke continues to remain at Sienna, and he has refused to ratify the law for the Constituent Assembly which had passed the two Chambers (but under coercion as it is stated), and seems disposed to try whether Florence will not support him in his views.

No. 124.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 18.)

(Extract.)

Florence, February 7, 1849.

THE Grand Duke of Tuscany has judged it right and necessary to leave Sienna with his family, and to repair to some place where he will be less exposed to popular agitation. He requests that I will order one of Her Majesty's steam-vessels to be at the port of Santo Stefano to-morrow evening to receive him and his family on board.

Although I deeply regret the decision which the Grand Duke has come to, yet I have not hesitated to comply with his request, and I have sent express to Leghorn a letter to the commanding officer there.

The port of Santo Stefano is on the confines of the Roman States. I do not know whether the Grand Duke's intention is to proceed to Elba or not.

No. 125.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 18.)

My Lord,

Florence, February 8, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a despatch from Mr. Petre at Rome, giving an account of the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly on the 5th instant.

The occurrences now taking place in Tuscany will probably hasten the proclamation of a Republic at Rome, which Mr. Petre appears to think will be one of the first acts of the Constituent Assembly.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 125.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Rome, February 6, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, that the National or Constituent Assembly met yesterday.

The Deputies, about 140 in number, went in procession from the Campodoglio through some of the principal streets to the Palace of the Cancelleria, where they are to hold their sittings. They were escorted by detachments of troops of the line, by no great number of civic guards, and by the members of clubs and other associations, with their flags and banners. The crowd was considerable, but there was no applause.

The Minister Armellini read a long discourse giving an account of the acts of the Provisional Commission, and ended by telling the Deputies that as the Rome of the Cæsars had passed away, so had the Rome of the Popes; it was for them to reconstruct on the ruins of both the Rome of the people.

General Garibaldi, chosen one of the Deputies for Macerata, proposed the immediate proclamation of a Republic, without waiting for the formalities of a verification of the elections, and was seconded by Prince Canino. But the Minister Sterhini opposed this, and called upon the Deputies to act legally and in order, as became a free Assembly, and said that he was not surprised that the General, little accustomed to parliamentary usages, should be hurried away by his generous sentiments.

The Assembly will meet to-day to verify the elections.

As the Deputies are nearly all nominees of the clubs, there can be little doubt that a Republic will be proclaimed, and that the few opposed to it will be silenced by fear. This is at least the prevailing opinion.

Distress is daily increasing; the deficit of the last year is above 4,000,000 dollars; and it is likely that according to the extravagant estimates, particularly for the army, of the expenses of the present year, it will exceed that sum by several millions over the ordinary receipts of the next twelve months.

The town is tranquil, but the arrival within the last few days of nearly 2000 men from the provinces and from Venice, excites fear for the long continuance of order and quiet.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM PETRE.

No. 126.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 18.)

(Extract.)

Florence, February 9, 1849.

THE Grand Duke of Tuscany left Sienna on the 7th instant. It is considered likely that he has gone to Elba.

M. Montanelli, who had been for some days at Sienna, saw the Grand Duke on Tuesday morning the 6th, but was not aware of His Royal Highness's departure from Sienna, with the Grand Duchess Dowager and all the Royal Family, until late on the evening of that day.

As soon as it became known in Florence yesterday morning, on the return of the President of the Council, that the Grand Duke had quitted Sienna, a proclamation of the Circolo appeared, inviting the people to assemble at the Piazza Granduca at 11, "in order to provide for a supreme danger in which the country was placed."

At the same hour the Chambers were assembled, *par urgence*, to receive an important communication from the Ministry. The President of the Council then presented a report of the circumstances attending the flight of the Sovereign. He had suddenly quitted Sienna without giving notice to any one, sending back to the Minister from the first post, the two following documents:—
1. A letter announcing his departure, without stating his reasons or his destination, and only recommending to the Minister his own servants;

2. A declaration to be read to the Chambers, in which he protested that he was led to depart not through fear but from a scruple of conscience, confirmed by a letter from the Pope, in answer to one of his own inquiring whether an adhesion to the "Costituente" would subject him to the censures of the Church recently fulminated from Gaeta.

After the reading of this important document, the tribunes and Chamber were invaded by a mob. The Circolo had meanwhile held its meeting in the Piazza, had passed a decree creating a Provisional Government composed of Montanelli, Guerrazzi and Mazzoni, and had appointed a Commission to convey this decree to the Parliament. It was read from the tribune, amid the shouts of the multitude, by Niccolini, President of the said Commission. The President of the Chamber and many Deputies of the Centre had previously quitted the House. As the tumult went on increasing, M. Guerrazzi ascended the tribune, and exhorted the crowd to allow the sitting to proceed. The President and absent Deputies soon returned to their places. Guerrazzi then proceeded to read the *procès-verbal* of a Cabinet Council held in the night, concluding by resigning into the hands of the Chamber the functions of the Ministry. The Deputy Trinci then moved the election of a Provisional Government composed of the above three names.

This was carried unanimously after a short discussion. The three members of the new Government each addressed the people, and were received with shouts of applause. The bells began to ring, guns fired salutes, and the crowd dispersed quietly. The Grand Ducal arms were removed from all public buildings in the course of the day.

No. 127.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 18.)

(Extract.)

Florence, February 9, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copies of a note I have received from M. Montanelli, and of a collective note written in reply by myself and all the Foreign Ministers resident here who met at my house, I being now the head of the Diplomatic Body.

M. Montanelli has announced his intention of calling on me this evening, when it is my intention to inform him that although I cannot officially recognize the Provisional Government, yet the interests of my countrymen in Tuscany would probably render it necessary that I should unofficially hold communication with them. The Grand Duke being still in his dominions, of course I can recognize no other power in the State.

The new Ministry is formed, consisting of the former Ministers of War, Finance, and Public Instruction, with the addition of the Advocate Mordini as Minister for Foreign Affairs, Professor Marnocchi, Minister of the Interior, and Dr. Romanelli, of Grace and Justice.

Inclosure 1 in No. 127.

M. Montanelli to Sir George Hamilton.

Firenze, 8 Febbraio, 1849

NELLE prime ore pomeridiane di ieri, il Granduca, che da qualche giorno trovavasi in Siena, ne partì furtivamente con tutta la sua famiglia.

In seguito di tale avvenimento, essendosi questa mattina le due Assemblee Legislative riunite in seduta straordinaria, una imponente dimostrazione popolare ha avuto luogo con lo scopo di ottenere la formazione di un Governo Provvisorio. Le Assemblee hanno aderito ai voti del popolo, ed un Governo Provvisorio è stato immediatamente proclamato, composto dal Sottoscritto e dai cittadini Guerrazzi e Mazzoni. Una delle prime sue cure sarà quella di provvedere alla formazione di un Ministero.

Il Sottoscritto, &c.

In nome del Governo Provvisorio,

(Firmato)

G. MONTANELLI.

(Translation.)

Florence, February 8, 1849.

EARLY yesterday afternoon, the Grand Duke, who had been some days in Sienna, departed from it secretly, with all his family.

In consequence of that occurrence, the two Legislative Assemblies having this morning met in extraordinary session, an imposing popular demonstration took place, with the view of obtaining the formation of a Provisional Government. The Assemblies acquiesced in the wishes of the people, and a Provisional Government was immediately proclaimed, consisting of the Undersigned and of the citizens Guerrazzi and Mazzoni. One of their first cares will be to provide for formation of a Ministry.

The Undersigned, &c.

In the name of the Provisional Government,
(Signed) G. MONTANELLI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 127.

The Diplomatic Body to M. Montanelli.

Florence, 9 Février, 1849.

LES Soussignés, Ministres et Chargés d'Affaires auprès de Son Altesse Royale le Grand Duc de Toscane, s'empresent d'accuser réception de la communication que M. le Professeur Montanelli leur a adressée en date d'hier.

Ayant l'honneur d'être accrédités exclusivement auprès de Son Altesse Royale le Grand Duc de Toscane, les Soussignés se croient privés de tout pouvoir pour l'exercice de leurs fonctions officielles auprès du Gouvernement Provisoire que M. le Professeur Montanelli leur a annoncé.

Ils profitent, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.
ADR. BENOIT CHAMPY.
CTE. SCHAFGOTSCH.
MARQ. VILLAMARINA.
BERGMANN.
MASSONE.

(Translation.)

Florence, February 9, 1849.

THE Undersigned, &c., hasten to acknowledge the receipt of the communication which Professor Montanelli addressed to them yesterday.

Having the honour to be exclusively accredited to His Royal Highness the Grand Duke, the Undersigned consider themselves to be deprived of all power to exercise their diplomatic functions towards the Provisional Government recommended to them by Professor Montanelli.

They avail, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.
ADR. BENOIT CHAMPY. (France.)
CTE. SCHAFGOTSCH. (Prussia.)
MARQ. VILLAMARINA. (Sardinia.)
BERGMANN. (Sweden.)
MASSONE. (Pope.)

No. 128.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 18.)

My Lord,

Vienna, February 13, 1849.

AT my request M. de la Cour went with me this morning to visit Baron Werner, in order to make it impossible that there should be any doubt of the correctness of what I should say to the Baron respecting the sentiments of the

Minister for Foreign Affairs in France, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, as to the importance of the immediate presence of an Austrian Plenipotentiary at Brussels.

We (M. de la Cour and myself) made ourselves perfectly understood by Baron Werner, and he will this day communicate to Prince Schwarzenberg what passed at the interview.

I will reserve my further report till I send off the messenger whom I keep for the reply from Olmütz to my communications to Prince Schwarzenberg. I have now only to assure your Lordship that the immediate mission of the Austrian Plenipotentiary has been urged in the strongest manner.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 129.

The Hon. W. Temple to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 18.)

My Lord,

Naples, February 2, 1849.

THE Legislative Chambers met yesterday as had been previously arranged.

After attending the celebration of mass the Peers and the Deputies proceeded to their respective Chambers, when the reports of their previous sittings having been read, the Peers adjourned till Saturday the 3rd instant, to which day the Deputies, who were not in sufficient number to proceed to business, also adjourned their sittings.

A considerable number of people were present in the galleries of the Chamber of Deputies, and the Liberal Members were loudly cheered, but no disturbance whatever took place. Few troops were present on duty, although a large force was ready to act in case of any emergency.

Great doubts were entertained by the King and his Ministers respecting the expediency of opening the Chambers. On the one hand their sanction was required to enable the Government consistently with the Constitution to levy the land-tax after the 15th of this month, the period up to which it had been voted; but on the other hand fears were entertained that strong objections would be expressed in the Chambers to the large augmentation of the army and the increased expenditure required to maintain it, while the affairs of Sicily and the North of Italy might give rise to inconvenient discussions.

An attempt at a compromise was made by the Government, who gave the Liberal party to understand that if they would abstain from discussion on the above subjects the Chambers would be allowed to meet.

To this arrangement perhaps the latter might have agreed, but they further required the dismissal of three of the Ministers, viz.: of Prince Ischitella, the Minister of War, whom they consider to be a violent opponent of liberal principles, and more especially that of M. Ruggiero, the Minister of Finance, and of M. Bozzelli, Minister of Public Instruction, who having formerly been distinguished for their extreme liberal opinions, are accused of having altered their principles.

The King however refused to comply with these demands, and the Ministers retain their places.

A Council was held some days ago, at which it was finally decided that the Chambers should meet. Four of the Ministers were in favour and four against the decision, and it was carried by the casting vote of the King.

M. Ruggiero, the Minister of Finance, had declined to sign the decree for levying the land-tax unless it were first proposed to the Chambers. If however the Chambers refused to sanction it he would then be prepared to sign it and the Chambers would be dissolved.

I hear that the Liberal party are disposed to act with moderation and to avoid giving a pretext by their violence for the dissolution of the Chambers, and perhaps for the overthrow of the Constitution by the large military force which might be employed for that purpose.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. TEMPLE.

The Hon. W. Temple to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 18.)

My Lord,

Naples, February 3, 1849.

NO measures as yet appear to have been decided upon by the Powers to whom the Pope has appealed for reinstating him in his capital; but the arrival of Count Maurice Esterhazy, who is expected daily at Gaeta on a mission from the Austrian Government to the Pope, is looked forward to with great interest, as it is believed that he will have some plan to propose which has been concerted with France and the other Powers.

In the meantime however I hear that General Zucchi will endeavour to organize a force which is to assemble at Ponte Corvo, and to consist of such Roman troops as may join the Pope's standard, together with the Swiss troops now in garrison at Bologna, amounting to about 2,600 men, and who it is hoped may be willing and able to march through the eastern provinces of the Roman States and enter the Neapolitan frontier by Rieti. I hear the corps which has returned from Venice will be sent to the Neapolitan frontier to act on the defensive in case of attack from that side.

The Spanish Government have sent a squadron of five vessels to Gaeta, consisting of a frigate, a corvette, a brig and two steam-vessels, but I have been assured that they have no troops on board nor any disposable force beyond their complement of sailors and marines. It is said that two more Spanish frigates are expected.

The Spanish Ambassador has given out that besides affording assistance to the Pope it was deemed desirable by the Spanish Government that their flag should be seen in these seas, particularly as many Spanish subjects are established and possess property in Sicily.

The Pope has called upon the Cardinals to reside near him at Gaeta and its neighbourhood in order that he may consult them and have their advice and assistance.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. TEMPLE.

The Hon. W. Temple to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 18.)

My Lord,

Naples, February 4, 1849.

SINCE I wrote my despatch of yesterday's date, Count Maurice Esterhazy has arrived at Naples by the French steamer from Marseilles and will proceed immediately to Gaeta on his mission to the Pope.

I hear that he has no definite plan to propose for the re-establishment of the Pope in his capital, which has created much disappointment among the friends of His Holiness. Nothing positive however can be known upon the subject until after he shall have been presented to the Pope at Gaeta.

Accounts from Rome have just been received which announce that the Swiss troops quartered at Bologna who had received orders from the Pope to march through the Roman States and join the force which General Zucchi is endeavouring to organize at Ponte Corvo, have been induced by the representations of the Roman authorities and population of Bologna to decline obeying those orders, and have decided not to move from their present quarters.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. TEMPLE.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 20.)

My Lord,

Vienna, February 12, 1849.

I IMMEDIATELY on the arrival here of the messenger, I wrote to Prince Schwarzenberg, and my letter was dispatched to him at Olmutz, where it will have reached him last night, or at the earliest hour of this day.

I laid before the Prince the advantages to be derived from the opening of the meeting of Plenipotentiaries at Brussels, and I laid particular stress upon the worse than inutility of an attack upon Venice by the Austrians. I directed his attention to the facts that nobody disputed that Venice is to remain with Austria, and that nothing could be gained by the forcible occupation of that city at this moment; that when peace is concluded, Venice must submit without resistance or bloodshed; that an attack upon that city now would be looked upon by France as an insult, and might be considered as the evidence of a desire on the part of Austria to bring on a war, instead of taking means to procure a peace; that the President of the French Republic does not wish to go to war, and will avoid it as long as he can, but if the Austrians urge him too far war will ensue.

I called this day on Baron Werner, and spoke in the plainest language to him of the danger of war created by the conduct of the Austrians in delaying so long to send a Plenipotentiary to Brussels, and of the increased danger which would arise if any attack should be made upon Venice. The Baron has written to Prince Schwarzenberg at Olmutz this day to communicate to him what I had just told him, in addition to that contained in my letter to the Prince, namely, that I had reason to know that the French Minister for Foreign Affairs had expressed very strongly the dissatisfaction of his Government with the delay of the Plenipotentiary and with the reported intention of the Imperial Government to make an attack upon Venice.

I called on M. de la Cour, and we agreed to go together to Baron Werner, and in the name of the Governments of England and France urge the expediency and the necessity of the immediate dispatch of an Austrian Plenipotentiary to Brussels, and of the abandonment of the intention to attack Venice, if such an intention should exist.

In my letter of yesterday to Prince Schwarzenberg, I suggested that he should send instructions to Count Colloredo, who would receive them at Brussels, where the Count is to remain two or three days. I acquainted your Lordship some time ago, of the purport of the Count's instructions respecting the mediation, namely to propose the abandonment of the project on account of its inutility for the object of making peace.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 133.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 20.)

My Lord,

Turin, February 15, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that a decree was published at Genoa on the 13th instant, by which Signor Buffa, in virtue of the full powers with which he is invested, has closed the club called the "Circolo Italiano."

The reasons given by Signor Buffa in justification of this measure are, that the "Circolo Italiano" has always shown tendencies contrary to Constitutional Monarchy, and sentiments of contempt and aversion for the King; and that by a systematic opposition to the action of the Government it has created serious disturbances and greatly impeded the attainment of national independence.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 134.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Addington.

Sir,

Admiralty, February 20, 1849.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of Viscount Palmerston, a copy of a letter dated the 11th February, from Commander Key of Her Majesty's steam-vessel "Bulldog," relative to the state of affairs in the Roman States.

I am, &c.

(Signed) W. A. B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 134.

Commander Key to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir, "Bulldog," Civita Vecchia, February 12, 1849.
I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a letter addressed by me to Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker, Bart., G.C.B., for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. C. KEY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 134. .

Commander Key to Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker.

Sir, "Bulldog," Civita Vecchia, February 11, 1849.
THE Roman Constituent Assembly, which met for the first time at Rome on the 5th ultimo, and which was received by the Roman populace without any sign of enthusiasm or even of satisfaction, notwithstanding the numerous attempts to excite it by processions, ceremonies and speeches, after two days' preamble proceeded on the 8th to decide on the form of Government which should be adopted in the Roman States. At the conclusion of a sitting which was prolonged until 1 A.M. on the 9th, the following Articles were decreed:
Art. 1. The Papacy is fallen, in fact and by right, from the temporal Government of the Roman States.
2. The Roman Pontiff shall have every guarantee for the independent exercise of his spiritual power.
3. The form of Government of the Roman States shall be a pure Democracy, and shall assume the glorious name of the Roman Republic.
4. The Roman Republic shall have those relations with the rest of Italy which the common nationality requires.

This decree was announced both at Rome and Civita Vecchia by the ringing of bells, a salute of 101 guns, and a change of the Papal flag for the Italian tricolour.

I have not yet heard whether much enthusiasm was exhibited at Rome by the people; more was shown at this place than I had expected.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. COOPER KEY.

No. 135.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 20.)

(Extract.)

Paris, February 19, 1849.

I HAVE had a long interview this morning with M. Drouyn de Lhuys, who is extremely annoyed at the conduct pursued by Austria, and particularly at the last announcement made by M. Thom that the object of Count Colloredo's mission to London was to propose that the conferences at Brussels should not take place but be superseded by a General Congress. M. Drouyn de Lhuys said he was inclined at once to write to Vienna to quote all the different engagements taken on this subject by Prince Schwarzenberg and by the preceding Austrian Cabinet, and the different dates of those engagements. He said that a very few days after his entrance into office in December last Prince Schwarzenberg engaged to name a Plenipotentiary at once, and stated that the only delay arose from the personal difficulty as to choice, but that after having waited an interval quite disproportionate to such a cause, he was now for the first time told that a necessary preliminary was the withdrawal of the Sardinian fleet from Venice.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys then went over again the main points of his conversation with M. Thom on this subject which I had detailed to your Lordship in my despatch of the 15th instant. He said that whilst the mediation could hold

out any hopes of being seriously entertained on both sides as a means of peace he was ready to submit to much sacrifice to continue it; but if it only made the mediating Powers the instruments of controlling the free action of one party by holding out expectations which it was evident the other had no intention to realize, then he should prefer that France should reserve her liberty of action, allow Austria and Sardinia to pursue their quarrel as they might choose to do, and reserve for France herself the power of taking any part in the future which events might suggest.

I told M. Drouyn de Lhuys that I could not understand and therefore could not explain the conduct of Austria, but that as he had told me that Prince Schwarzenberg had announced a detailed despatch containing his views of the policy of Austria, and as it was evident Count Colloredo was gone to London personally to explain it, I thought he had better found any representation he might find it necessary to make upon that communication, which, if it failed to justify the conduct of Austria, must at least make it intelligible.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys agreed to wait for that document; but he stated that he had ever since he had been in office been endeavouring to keep all quiet in Italy, in Naples and elsewhere, from a belief that Austria would meet the mediating Powers in a fair spirit.

No. 136.

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 20, 1849.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 19th instant, reporting the observations made to you by M. Drouyn de Lhuys as to the evasive conduct of Austria in regard to the conference proposed to be held at Brussels; and I have to acquaint your Excellency that I am to see Count Colloredo to-morrow, and that after my interview with him I will inform your Excellency of its general result.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 137.

Prince Schwarzenberg to Count Colloredo.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by Count Colloredo, February 21.)

M. le Comte,

Olmütz, le 12 Février, 1849.

NOUS venons de prendre connaissance du discours prononcé par le Roi de Sardaigne à l'occasion de l'ouverture du Parlement Piémontais le 1er de ce mois.

Ce document, qui d'un bout à l'autre ne respire que la guerre, aura, nous n'en doutons pas, mérité la sérieuse attention du Gouvernement Britannique. Nous croyons de notre devoir de ne pas lui laisser ignorer l'impression que le discours d'ouverture du Roi Charles Albert a dû produire sur le Cabinet Impérial.

Au mois de Mars de l'année passée l'armée Piémontaise envahit à l'improviste la Lombardie, et cette attaque était accompagnée de circonstances propres à en aggraver la déloyauté. Quelques mois plus tard la victoire couronna les efforts de l'Armée Impériale, et grâce à ses succès, l'état de possession territoriale garanti à l'Autriche par les traités, et qui n'avait jamais discontinué de subsister de droit, se trouva également rétabli de fait.

Dès ce moment les questions à discuter entre l'Autriche et la Sardaigne se trouvaient réduites à des termes fort simples. Il ne s'agissait plus que de rétablir entre ces Puissances les bons rapports qui n'avaient été troublés que par le fait de la Sardaigne, et de fixer l'indemnité qui nous est dûe pour les frais d'une guerre faite dans l'intérêt d'une légitime défense. Ce fut là en effet le point de vue que le Cabinet Impérial développa aux Gouvernements d'Angleterre et de France lorsqu'ils lui offrirent après les victoires décisives des armées Impériales leur médiation amicale pour la conclusion de la paix. Cédant à leur insis-

tance, il finit, il est vrai, par accepter la médiation, mais en se prêtant à cet acte de déférence pour les vœux des deux Puissances amies, il était autorisé à ne point mettre en doute que dans leur justice et leur impartialité elles ne sauraient apprécier la haute modération dont l'Autriche avait fait preuve en arrêtant à ses frontières ses armées victorieuses au milieu de leurs succès, et qu'elles ne reconnaîtraient que le Gouvernement Impérial réduisait ses prétentions au minimum en ne demandant qu'à conserver ce qui lui appartient à tant de titres.

La prétention d'amener l'Autriche à livrer des provinces défendues naguères par des torrents de sang et par tant de sacrifices, comme prix de sa trahison à l'agresseur perfide dont elle venait de triompher, a été justement flétrie par l'opinion publique de l'Europe comme une extravagance digne de la démente des démagogues Italiens.

Et c'est pourtant cette énormité politique qui sert de pivot à tout le discours d'ouverture que l'Abbé Gioberti a mis dans la bouche du Roi Charles Albert.

Ce Souverain proclame hardiment à la face de l'Europe le Royaume de Haute Italie, et il ne craint pas d'engager directement les Provinces Italiennes de l'Autriche, qui selon lui forment une partie précieuse de son royaume et de son cœur, à tenter encore une fois la voie de l'insurrection contre leur Souverain légitime.

En présence de faits aussi patens qu'ils sont odieux, l'Autriche doit au sentiment de sa dignité d'adresser au Gouvernement Anglais, en sa qualité de médiateur, la question s'il reconnaît le Royaume de Haute Italie proclamé par le Roi Charles Albert, tandis que le droit public de l'Europe l'ignore, et si aux yeux du Cabinet de Londres ce Souverain est investi du pouvoir exorbitant de changer à lui seul les circonscriptions territoriales fixées par les Traités, et qui conformément aux principes généralement admis ne sauraient être modifiées sans le concours et le consentement de toutes les Puissances signataires des transactions politiques de l'année 1815, auxquelles la Sardaigne elle-même est redevable de sa restauration.

En nous plaçant à ce point de vue nous aurions de la peine à comprendre que l'Angleterre consentît plus longtemps à couvrir de l'égide de sa médiation les empiétements du Roi de Sardaigne, persuadée comme elle doit l'être avec nous, qu'entre les prétentions inqualifiables de la Cour de Turin et le bon droit de l'Autriche, la distance est trop grande pour ne pas priver de toute base rationnelle une médiation quelconque. Cela posé, mieux vaudrait à nos yeux, ne pas commencer une négociation, que de l'ouvrir au risque de la voir rompue dès les premiers pas : car on n'est jamais plus près de la guerre que lorsque les négociations ayant pour but d'y mettre définitivement un terme viennent à échouer.

Nous ne nous permettons pas de préjuger le parti auquel le Gouvernement Anglais jugera à propos de s'arrêter. Mais tout en déclarant que ce n'est pas nous qui serons les premiers à rompre l'armistice, nous avons besoin, en face des audacieuses provocations du Roi Charles Albert et des intentions hostiles qu'il manifeste ouvertement, sans que les Puissances médiatrices y mettent obstacle, de nous réserver notre entière liberté d'action, et de ne prendre dorénavant conseil dans notre lutte avec la Sardaigne, que de notre honneur et de nos intérêts.

Je vous charge, M. le Comte, de donner lecture de cette dépêche à M. le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé) F. SCHWARZENBERG.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte,

Olmütz, February 12, 1849.

• WE have just had brought under our notice the speech pronounced by the King of Sardinia on the occasion of the opening of the Piedmontese Parliament on the 1st of this month.

That document, which breathes a spirit of war from one end to the other, will, we doubt not, have attracted the serious attention of the British Government. We consider it our duty not to let it be ignorant of the impression which the opening speech of King Charles Albert has necessarily produced on the Imperial Cabinet.

In the month of March of last year a Piedmontese army suddenly invaded

Lombardy; and that attack was accompanied by circumstances which were of a character to aggravate its dishonesty. Some months later victory rewarded the efforts of the Imperial army; and thanks to its successes, the state of territorial possession guaranteed to Austria by treaties, and which by right had never ceased to exist, became equally re-established in fact.

From that moment the questions for discussion between Austria and Sardinia were reduced to very simple limits. The question was merely to re-establish between those Powers the good relations which had only been disturbed by the conduct of Sardinia, and to fix the indemnity due to us for the expenses of a war waged only for the purpose of legitimate defence. That was in fact the point of view which the Imperial Cabinet explained to the Government of England and of France when, after the decisive victories of the Imperial arms, they offered their friendly mediation for the purpose of bringing about the conclusion of peace.

It is true, that yielding to their representations, it ended by accepting the mediation; but whilst consenting to defer to the wishes of the two friendly Powers, it was justified in not doubting that in their justice and impartiality they could do otherwise than appreciate the great moderation of which Austria had given a proof by stopping on her frontiers her victorious armies in the midst of their success, and acknowledge that the Imperial Government was reducing its pretensions to the minimum when only asking to retain that which on so many accounts belonged to it.

The pretensions to persuade Austria to give up provinces lately defended by torrents of blood, and at the price of so many sacrifices, as a reward of the treachery of the perfidious aggressor over whom she had just triumphed, has been with justice characterized by the public opinion of Europe as an extravagance worthy of the insanity of Italian demagogues.

And yet it is this political enormity which serves as the pivot upon which the whole of the opening discourse which the Abbé Gioberti has put into the mouth of King Charles Albert, turns.

That Sovereign holdly proclaims, in the face of Europe, the Kingdom of Upper Italy, and he does not fear directly to invite the Italian provinces of Austria, which according to him constitute a precious portion of his kingdom and of his affections, again to attempt an insurrection against their legitimate Sovereign.

In the face of facts as public as they are odious, Austria owes it to her sense of dignity to address to the British Government, in its capacity of mediator, the question, whether it acknowledges the Kingdom of Upper Italy proclaimed by King Charles Albert, whilst the public law of Europe disowns it; and whether in the eyes of the Cabinet of London that Sovereign is invested with the exorbitant power of altering by himself the territorial limits established by treaties, and which, in conformity with principles generally admitted, could not be modified without the concurrence and consent of all the Powers who signed the political transactions of the year 1815, to which Sardinia herself owes her own restoration.

Looking at the affair in this point of view, we could with difficulty understand how England should any longer consent to cover with the shield of her mediation these encroachments of the King of Sardinia, persuaded as she must be in common with us, that between the indescribable pretensions of the Court of Turin and the true rights of Austria there is far too great a distance to allow of any rational basis for a mediation of any sort. This granted, it would, in our opinion, be far better not to commence a negotiation, than to risk seeing it broken off at the outset; for nations are never nearer to war than when negotiations, intended to bring hostilities definitively to an end, break down.

We do not allow ourselves to judge beforehand as to the line which the British Government may think fit to adopt for itself. But whilst we declare that we will not be the first to break the Armistice, we have need, in the face of the audacious provocations of King Charles Albert and of the hostile intentions which he openly shows, without any opposition on the part of the mediating Powers, to reserve for ourselves our full freedom of action, and henceforward to take counsel in our dispute with Sardinia only of our honour and of our interests.

I have to instruct you, M. le Comte, to read this despatch to the Principal Secretary of State.

Receive, &c.
(Signed) F. SCHWARZENBERG.

No. 138.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 21.)

My Lord,

Florence, February 11, 1849.

I HAVE this day received a despatch from Mr. Petre at Rome, which I have the honour to inclose.

At the sitting of the Constituent Assembly on the night of the 8th instant, it was decreed by that body that the Pope's temporal power was abolished, but that he should retain and be guaranteed the exercise of his spiritual functions.

That the form of Government for the Roman States is to be a pure Democracy and to take the name of the Roman Republic.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 138.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Rome, February 9, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you for the information of Viscount Palmerston, that the Constituent Assembly decreed a little after midnight—

That the Papacy had forfeited in fact and of right the temporal Government of the Roman State.

That the Roman Pontiff shall have all the necessary guarantees for independence in the exercise of his spiritual power.

That the form of Government in the Roman State shall be pure Democracy and will take the glorious name of the Roman Republic.

That the Roman Republic will hold with the rest of Italy those relations which a common nationality requires.

The above four Articles are signed by Signor Galletti, formerly Minister of Police, who was chosen President at the second sitting of the Assembly on the 7th instant, when the Assembly immediately declared itself invested with sovereign power.

Of about 143 Deputies present, 20 only voted against the proclamation of a Republic.

The town is quiet, and most of the troops mentioned in my last despatch of the 6th instant have left Rome for the Neapolitan frontier.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM PETRE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 138.

*Decree of the Constituent Assembly of Rome.**Assemblea Costituente Romana.*

Decreto Fondamentale.

Art. 1. IL Papato è decaduto di fatto e di diritto dal Governo temporale dello Stato Romano.

Art. 2. Il Pontefice Romano avrà tutte le guarentigie necessarie per la indipendenza nell'esercizio della sua potestà spirituale.

Art. 3. La forma del Governo dello Stato Romano sarà la Democrazia pura, e prenderà il glorioso nome di Repubblica Romana.

Art. 4. La Repubblica Romana avrà col resto d'Italia la relazione che esige la nazionalità comune.

9 febbrajo, 1849, ora 1 del mattino.

(Firmato) Il Presidente,
G. GALLETTI.

I Segretari,
GIOVANNI PENNACCHI.
ARIODANTE FABRETTI.
ANTONIO ZAMBIANCHI.
QUIRICO FILOPANTI BARILI.

Viva la Repubblica Romani !

Roma, 8 Febbraio.

E l'una dopo mezzanotte e usciamo in questo momento dalla sala, ove è stata adunata la Costituente dalle undici antimeridiane : chi potrebbe descrivere la commozione da cui e noi tutti sono stati commossi ! La gran parola è stata pronunciata.

La Democrazia ha vinto. Dopo una discussione grave, animata, ma libera, coscenziosa, alle ore undici e un quarto pomeridiane fra gli applausi del popolo affollato nelle tribune, si è proclamata la Repubblica Romana, dopo d'essersi dichiarato la decadenza del potere temporale dei Papi. Di cento quaranta rappresentanti e più, solamente una ventina è stata contraria alle ammesse proposizioni.

Di tal modo la religione è stata purificata ; l'Italia ha riacquisito interamente Roma ; e Roma ha schiuso dinanzi a sè un glorioso avvenire. La maggioranza de' rappresentanti concorsa alla gran proclamazione già mostra che non poteva più contenersi ne' popoli il desiderio di emanciparsi dal Governo teocratico.

Non ostante ammiriamo la fermezza di quelli che han votato in contrario, desiderando invece lasciare la quistione sul regime da darsi al nostro Stato ne' poteri della Costituente Italiana. Essi se non altro han compiuto una grande missione, quella di far seriamente e posatamente discutere una quistione sì vitale.

È impossibile descrivere gli applausi generali, e l'entusiasmo con cui la parola redentrice è stata dal pubblico accettata. Viva negli atti e ne' detti una riconoscenza per l'Assemblea salvatrice, una speranza per l'avvenire, una ferma certezza che la deliberazione è giunta a tempi maturi ed ormai indeclinabile.

Riserbandoci dare a domani esteso ragguaglio dell'importanti fatti di oggi, terminiamo come abbiain cominciato col grido di

“ Viva la Repubblica Romana ! ”

(Translation.)

Especial Decree.

Art. 1. The Papacy has forfeited in fact and of right the temporal government of the Roman State.

2. The Roman Pontiff shall have all the guarantees necessary to secure his independence in the exercise of his spiritual power.

3. The form of the Government of the Roman State shall be a pure Democracy, and it shall take the glorious name of the Roman Republic.

4. The Roman Republic shall have, with the rest of Italy, such relations as the common nationality may require.

February 9, 1849, 1 o'clock in the morning.

[Signatures.]

Long Live the Roman Republic !

Rome, February 8.

IT is 1 o'clock after midnight, and we issue at this moment from the hall where the Constituent has been assembled since 11 o'clock A.M. Who can describe the commotion which have agitated us ? The great word has been pronounced.

Democracy has won the day. After a serious, animated, but free and conscientious discussion, at a quarter past 11 P.M., amidst the applause of the people assembled in crowds in the tribunes, the Roman Republic was proclaimed, after the fall of the temporal power of the Pope had been declared. Out of more than 140 Representatives of the people only some twenty were against the propositions that were admitted.

In this manner religion has been purified. Italy has recovered Rome wholly,

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and Rome has opened to itself a glorious future. The majority of the Representatives agreeing in this great proclamation demonstrates fully that the desire of the people to be emancipated from a Theocratic Government could no longer be restrained.

Nevertheless we admire the firmness of those who have voted to the contrary, desirous of leaving it in the power of the Italian Constituent to establish the form of government to be allotted to our State. They have at least fulfilled a great mission,—that of causing to be discussed seriously and quietly a question of such vital importance.

It is impossible to describe the general applause and the enthusiasm with which the word full of hope has been received by the public. Long may we in deed and in word be grateful to the redeeming Assembly, have a firm hope in the future, and trust that this resolution has been taken in proper time, and that it will be hereafter unchangeable.

With the intention of giving to-morrow a fuller account of the important deeds that have taken place to-day, we conclude as we have begun with the cry of

“Viva the Roman Republic!”

No. 139.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 21.)

(Extract.)

Florence, February 13, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have received a despatch from Captain Codrington from Porto Santo Stefano, informing me that the Grand Duke of Tuscany and all the Grand Ducal family were still in that village on Saturday the 10th instant. Her Majesty's steam-vessel “Porcupine” as well as the “Thetis” were in the port awaiting His Royal Highness's orders.

A Garde Mobile has been established in Florence, but the greater part of the young men who compose it have come from Leghorn. The Government do not seem to place any confidence in the Civic Guard or in the troops of the line.

Three miles of the Florence and Leghorn railway has been destroyed and the magnificent railway station at Empoli has been burnt. This has been done by the reactionary party, who wished to prevent succours coming from Leghorn to the Provisional Government at Florence.

No. 140.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 22.)

My Lord,

Turin, February 17, 1849.

THE “Gazzetta Piemontese” of last night contains the official notice of the appointment of General Chrzanowski as Commander-in-chief of the Sardinian army and of Major-General de La Marmora to the post of Chief of the Staff. General Bava, the late Commander-in-chief, is appointed Inspector-General of the army.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 141.

Count Colloredo to Viscount Palmerston.

Milord,

Mivart's Hotel, 22 Février, 1849.

UN courrier parti d'Olmütz le 16 dn courant, près de huit jours après moi, est arrivé dans la journée; il m'apporte une dépêche que j'ai ordre de communiquer à votre Seigneurie, et qui a été rédigée à la suite d'une démarche dans l'affaire de la médiation faite auprès du Cabinet Impérial par M. l'Ambassadeur de Sa Majesté Britannique. Notre opinion sur le discours de Carlo Alberto ne

saurait changer ; nous qualifions toujours de la même manière les prétentions énormes qu'il avance ; nous maintenons que la seule base sur laquelle nous pouvons entrer en négociation est le maintien de la circonscription territoriale telle qu'elle a été consacrée par les traités. Nous ne voulons d'autre part point entraver ce qui peut servir à rassurer les esprits, prouver notre désir de consolider la paix. Si donc les deux Puissances maritimes nous donnent l'assurance positive et formelle de ne point appuyer les prétentions inqualifiables du Cabinet Sarde, mais au contraire de les écarter comme inadmissibles, si elles adoptent d'avance comme point de départ de la médiation la base que nous ne pouvons point abandonner, nous n'hésiterons pas un instant à expédier à notre Plénipotentiaire ses pleins-pouvoirs et l'ordre de se rendre à Bruxelles. Veuillez, Milord, me faire savoir quand je pourrai avoir l'honneur de vous voir pour m'acquitter plus explicitement de la communication dont je suis chargé. Dès que les résolutions de votre Seigneurie me seront connues, je ferai repartir le courrier.

Agréé, &c.

(Signed) COLLOREDO.

(Translation.)

My Lord,

Misart's Hotel, February 22, 1849.

A COURIER who left Olmutz on the 16th instant, nearly eight days after me, has arrived in the course of to-day. He brings me a despatch which I am instructed to communicate to your Lordship, and which has been addressed to me in consequence of steps taken by Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador with the Imperial Cabinet in the affair of the mediation. Our opinion as to Charles Albert's speech cannot change ; we characterize always in the same way the enormous pretensions which he advances ; we maintain that the only basis on which we can begin to negotiate is the maintenance of the territorial limits as they have been laid down by treaties. On the other hand we do not wish to counteract that which may reassure men's minds and prove our wish to establish peace. If therefore the two maritime Powers give us a positive and formal assurance that they do not support the indescribable pretensions of the Sardinian Cabinet, but, on the contrary, that they will put them aside as inadmissible ; if they will adopt beforehand as the point of departure of the mediation the basis which we cannot abandon, we will not hesitate for a moment to send to our Plenipotentiary his full powers and instructions to go to Brussels. Be so kind, my Lord, as to let me know when I can have the honour of seeing you, in order to make more explicitly the communication with which I am charged. As soon as the determination of your Lordship shall be known to me, I shall send back the courier.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) COLLOREDO.

No. 142.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 23.)

My Lord,

Florence, February 14, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copies of a note which I have received from the Advocate Mordini, Minister for Foreign Affairs under the Provisional Government, and of my reply.

The National Assembly of Tuscany is to be convoked for the 15th of March.

Diplomatic relations have been established between Rome and Florence by the nomination of agents by each Provisional Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 142.

M. Mordini to Sir George Hamilton.

(Translation.)

Excellency,

Florence, February 10, 1849.

IT has pleased the Provisional Government of Tuscany to name me Minister Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

Though I am not ignorant of the contents of the declaration which you addressed in unison with the other members of the Diplomatic Body residing in Florence, to Professor Montanelli, one of the members of the Provisional Government, nevertheless I consider it my duty to inform you of my nomination, being convinced that, if by your position you consider yourself not at liberty to enter into official relations with me, you will certainly not decline to establish between us such officious relations as may serve to promote and to favour the interests of our respective countrymen.

(Signed) MORDINI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 142.

Sir George Hamilton to M. Mordini.

Monsieur,

Florence, February 13, 1849.

I HAVE had the honour to receive the despatch which you addressed to me on the 10th instant. Although my position in this country will not allow of my entertaining official communications with you, yet should the interests of my fellow-countrymen require it, I shall gladly avail myself of the proposal you have been good enough to make to me of holding unofficial relations with you.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. B. HAMILTON.

No. 143.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 23.)

(Extract.)

Florence, February 15, 1849.

EXCEPT among the few who hope to gain something by the troubled state of affairs in this country, the wish is almost universal for foreign intervention. Those who were formerly most adverse to the Austrians now say that the best thing that can happen is the occupation of Tuscany by an Austrian army. This is looked upon, not only here but at Bologna, as an event which must occur.

A general hope is expressed that the Great Powers will take in hand Italian affairs, as every day the present confusion increases. Unless a remedy is speedily applied, this country, as well as the Roman States, will be ruined.

No. 144.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 23, 1849.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency for your information copy* of a despatch from Prince Schwarzenberg to Count Colloredo, which was given me on the 21st instant by the Count, on the subject of the speech delivered by the King of Sardinia at the opening of the session of his Parliament.

Count Colloredo stated that the question to which the Austrian Government requests an answer is, whether that speech does not oppose an insurmountable obstacle to the opening of negotiations at Brussels, but I did not understand from him that the Austrian Government expects from Her Majesty's Government an answer to the questions whether the British Government

* See No. 137.

acknowledges a Kingdom of Upper Italy which does not exist, and whether the British Government considers the King of Sardinia invested with a power which no Sovereign possesses, of changing by his sole will the territorial boundaries fixed by existing treaties.

To those questions it is obvious that only one answer can be given; and it the Austrian Government should ask your Excellency for a reply to these questions you will of course answer them in the negative. Upon the question to which the Austrian Minister states that his Government request an answer, and which he says is conveyed in the passage of Prince Schwarzenberg's despatch beginning with the words "En nous plaçant à ce point de vue," I have to instruct your Excellency to say to the Austrian Government that which I have said to Count Colloredo, that the fact that the two adverse parties in a difference entertain opposite opinions, and have made conflicting declarations in regard to the matters in dispute between them, so far from leading to the conclusion that mediation ought not to take place, is on the contrary a strong reason why mediating friends should endeavour by their good offices to bring about a reconciliation, at which the adverse parties if left to themselves would probably not be able, without a previous trial of strength, to arrive; and therefore Her Majesty's Government so far from seeing in the speech of the King of Sardinia reasons for abandoning the mediation which, in conjunction with the Government of France, they have undertaken, only find in that speech and in the effect which it appears to have produced on the mind and feelings of the Government of Austria, additional reasons for urging the Austrian Government to send without further delay their Minister to the Brussels Conference.

It is now more than six months since the Austrian Government accepted the mediation of the two Powers; and yet, as I have learnt from Count Colloredo, there is not at present any Austrian Plenipotentiary appointed to the Conference of mediation. As long as the capital of the Austrian Empire was in a state of disturbance, as long as Hungary was in open rebellion, it was impossible to deny that the internal difficulties with which the Austrian Government had to contend, may have afforded a sufficient reason for its delay in fulfilling the engagements which it had taken towards the mediating Powers. But those difficulties have now ceased, and the Austrian Government is at liberty to give its attention to the restoration of peace between Austria and Sardinia, and Her Majesty's Government therefore earnestly entreat the Austrian Cabinet to lose no time in sending its Plenipotentiary to Brussels.

It cannot escape the discernment of the Austrian Government that the mere fact that the negotiations at Brussels had commenced would have a most salutary effect in calming the anxieties which are still felt by many persons in various parts of Europe as to the probability of the maintenance of peace; whilst it is evident that the conclusion of peace between Austria and Sardinia is an almost indispensable preliminary to the re-establishment of tranquillity in Northern and it may be said also in Central Italy.

As long as the relations between Austria and Sardinia remain in their present unsettled condition, and as long as the renewal of hostilities between these States shall continue to be looked upon as a probable event, the entrance of a French army into Italy, as a consequence of such hostilities, will necessarily be reckoned upon by many, and calculations will be made as to the ulterior results to which the entrance of such a force might lead. But Austria has surely an interest in putting a speedy end to such speculations, and the first step towards doing so will be made when the Austrian Plenipotentiary shall arrive at Brussels, where the Envoys of Great Britain, of France, and of Sardinia are already assembled and waiting for him.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 145.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 23.)

My Lord,

Vienna, February 15, 1849.

ON the 12th I wrote to Prince Schwarzenberg and told him that I had intelligence dated the 4th from Paris, which I entirely credited, that M. Drouyn de Lhuys is much alarmed at the appearance of the state of the mediation, and

that he fears it may not take place, and dreads the consequences which would follow its failing to do so; that he laments that more than a month has been allowed to elapse since the Austrian Government promised to name a negotiator without delay, and now all that is known is that no negotiator has been formally appointed; that he considers this as trifling with the mediating Powers; that he is still more alarmed and uneasy in consequence of having heard from Italy that everything appears to threaten that an attack will be made by the Austrians upon Venice; that the Sardinians have announced the impossibility in which they should find themselves to prevent the renewal of hostilities, should such an attack be made by Austria precisely at the moment when the conferences are to open, and thus the practical adhesion to the mediation which has been maintained by Austria (namely, the continued suspension of active hostilities against Venice) be put an end to without any respect for the mediating Powers, and broken through upon a point on which the remonstrances of both Powers have been so urgent and so frequent; and that M. Drouyn de Lhuys says that the irritating effect of this upon the French public would be more likely to place France in a hostile attitude, than any result arising out of the settlement of the question to be examined by the mediation.

I said that I had very good grounds for my belief that M. Drouyn de Lhuys really does fear the French Government may be forced into hostilities by the French public; and I added that I have never yet heard any reason for not entering upon the mediation; and that to enter upon it has been admitted by the Prince to be "a moral obligation;" and that if a war between the Great Powers of Austria and France should commence, no man can tell when and where it will end, or can say that Europe may not be shaken from its centre to its extremities; that a terrible responsibility will rest upon whoever shall occasion an evil so great; and that the responsibility will be attributed by the French and English Governments to the Imperial Government if the Austrian negotiator shall not be sent to Brussels, &c.

In my conversation with Baron Werner, at which M. de la Cour was present, I held the language I have just reported, with the addition that what was desired by the English and French Governments as to the mission of a negotiator, and to the continued abstinence by the Austrian Government from an attack upon Venice, was not any interference with the affairs of Austria, but was a just and necessary attention paid by those Governments to their own affairs, and prompted by their right to prevent a war, if it should be in their power to do so. I hope that M. de la Cour will return to Vienna to-morrow, and that he will have convinced Prince Schwarzenberg that the French Minister has expressed himself in the manner stated by me. I have taken every additional step which I have had it in my power to take, in order to make the Austrian Government feel the danger that may arise from an attack upon Venice and from a disregard of the mediating Powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 146.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 23.)

My Lord,

Vienna, February 17, 1849.

IN my despatch of the 15th instant to your Lordship I reported to you the steps I had taken about the mission of a negotiator from this Government to join the mediation at Brussels, and also to induce the Austrian Minister not to carry into effect the measure which M. Drouyn de Lhuys supposed might be intended of an attack upon Venice.

Last night I saw M. de la Cour after his return from Olmutz. He told me that Prince Schwarzenberg said that if the French and English Ministers would declare that they would not attempt to take from Austria anything belonging by treaty to the Emperor, he would send a negotiator to Brussels.

I am unable to see the common sense of the above. The Austrian negotiator would be instructed what propositions to accept or to refuse when he should be one of the Ministers at Brussels. The declaration demanded would

therefore he unnecessary for his security against the loss of any of the territories alluded to. He might go to Brussels with perfect safety, and Prince Schwarzenberg might securely perform what he has himself denominated a moral obligation. I consider the demand as an expedient to gain time, or for some other purpose. The Prince perhaps may not give credit to M. Drouyn de Lhuys for having expressed his true opinion, and the Prince may retain his own opinion that France will not interfere in the affairs of Italy. He may think that opinion is fortified by the speech made by Marshal Bugeaud to the French officers at Lyons, and he may be glad to do what will show a disregard for King Charles Albert; but as I know Prince Schwarzenberg wishes to get rid of the mediation, I think it not improbable that he will instruct Count Colloredo to go to Brussels as negotiator, under the impression that the mediation will more easily be put an end to by the rejection there of the proposed terms than by any previous process, and that by sending a negotiator, the moral obligation under which the Prince acknowledges he stands to send one will have been performed by the Count's mission. I must believe that M. Drouyn de Lhuys spoke truly to Lord Normanby, and therefore I expect Prince Schwarzenberg will satisfy himself of that fact, and end by performing his engagement to send a Minister to Brussels rather than incur danger for nothing.

I will take the liberty to advert to what I had the honour to mention to your Lordship some time ago, and now to repeat, that I believe Prince Schwarzenberg would readily agree to the calling a Congress together for the purpose of establishing by common consent bases upon which the peace of Europe may be rested.

Prince Schwarzenberg has deferred his reply to my letter till he shall be here in a few days, and I am therefore unable to speak from authority upon the subject of an attack upon Venice, but I will venture to state my own very strong opinion that no attack will be made under present circumstances, and that affairs will be left much in their present situation. I think it is the interest of the Austrian Government to do so. It is known that Venice must fall whenever it shall be seriously attacked, but also that an attack would cost blood and money. The authorities are evidently preparing the increase of their military force. They trust to the army for the support of their Government, and see too much uncertainty in the state of Germany and of France not to take the best immediate measures to prepare themselves to meet events which they think likely to bring difficulties and dangers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 147.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 23.)

(Extract.)

Paris, February 22, 1849.

IN consequence of the late events in Tuscany Prince Poniatowsky, who had been appointed Minister from that Court both here and in London, has suspended his functions here and has announced to me his intention to postpone of course his journey to London.

M. Martini who had been nominated to superintend Tuscan interests at the conferences at Brussels, has left Paris this morning for Turin, at which Court he had formerly been Minister Plenipotentiary.

No. 148.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 23.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 22, 1849.

M. DROUYN DE LHUYS informed me that M. Thom on Tuesday last had read to him a despatch from Prince Schwarzenberg, the purport of which was that Austria could not consent to appear at the Conference at Brussels unless the mediating Powers disavowed the interpretation which Austria put upon some phrases in the King of Sardinia's speech.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys said that he had replied that the very object of all mediations was to bring all parties to an understanding upon points on which they were disagreed, and if it was required that there should be no difference of opinion before they consented to meet, the object of their meeting would not be very obvious. He said that he had added that the real meaning of all this endless succession of petty difficulties was that the Austrian Cabinet did not intend to keep the word which it had given to the mediating Powers, and that if such was their intention it had better be stated at once.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 149.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 23.)

My Lord,

Milan, February 16, 1849.

I DO myself the honour to inform your Lordship that the Military Government here are taking active measures for the payment of the fines as set forth in his Excellency Field-Marshal Radetzky's proclamation of the 11th November last. The letter addressed to those fined runs as follows:—"As notwithstanding the letter of ———, which intimated your being fined the sum of ———, you have allowed the term to elapse for the payment thereof, notice is hereby given to you that Signor ——— is appointed to proceed to the necessary acts in order to obtain the said payment."

Should the personal property not suffice for the payment of the sum each individual is fined, the agents of the Military Government have positive orders to sell such a portion of the respective landed properties, or the whole if necessary, as will make up the amount. A commission is formed under General Wohlgemuth, of the Signori Annibale Ratti, Carlo Ignazio Sabbioni, Francesco Ricotti, and Carlo Muggiasca, some of the cleverest Milanese engineers, for this purpose. With the exception of Signor Ratti, all at first refused to act, but it being intimated to them by the General that if they did not comply they would be tried before a council of war as in time of war, of the sentence of which they must abide the consequences, they reluctantly obeyed.

The sequestration of the personal property in twenty-three of the principal houses in Milan will be immediately carried into execution. In the Palace of the Duke Litta and of the Duke Visconti, seizures were yesterday effected, the huissiers carrying off all the money they found therein.

When these fines are all paid, the Military Government will then proceed to place under sequestration the estates of the absentees. The farm tenants will be allowed a reduction of 10 per cent. on their rents, if paid in advance, and the engineers employed in this operation are to receive 4 per cent. on the sums thus raised.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 150.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 23.)

My Lord,

Milan, February 16, 1849.

IN consequence of the embarrassment to which the Military Government has been put by the refusal of the provincial congregations in Lombardy to send representatives to the Austrian capital, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the Imperial Plenipotentiary here called before him lately the Signori Agostino de Sopransi, Angelo Decio, Carlo Bassi, Carlo Villa, and the engineer Francesco Medici, and intreated them to be prevailed upon to proceed to Vienna, in order that the Emperor and his Ministers might be enabled to ascertain through them the real wants and wishes of the country.

With the exception of Signor Decio, who is a Government Consigliere, all refused.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 151.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir George Hamilton.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, February 24, 1849.

HER Majesty's Government approve of the answer which in conjunction with your colleagues you returned to the notification of a Provisional Government having been formed, of which answer a copy is inclosed in your despatch of the 9th instant.

No. 152.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 25.)

(Extract.)

Paris, February 24, 1849.

I THIS morning received your Lordship's despatch containing two inclosures, a despatch from Prince Schwarzenberg to Count Colloredo, and another from your Lordship to Lord Ponsonby.

I have since had a visit from Count Antioch, who had been appointed Secretary to the Sardinian Mission to the conferences at Brussels, and who has been delaying his departure till he could ascertain whether Count Colloredo was going there. I merely informed him that you had again written to Vienna urging that a Plenipotentiary should be at once appointed, and that the objections stated by Austria to the actual position of the question might best be considered when the negotiations were opened.

M. Antioch said that the last accounts he had just received from Turin led him to believe that this further evasive attempt on the part of Austria to escape from her engagement to appear at Brussels, would bring affairs at once to a crisis in the North of Italy; that the patience of the Sardinian Government who had now been so often admonished to wait a little, was at length exhausted. M. Antioch was very desirous that I should be thoroughly aware of the great change which had latterly taken place in the public opinion of Piedmont. For some time the Conservative party there had been opposed to the war, from the idea that it must increase the influence of the anarchical party, but since the Minister Gioberti had broken so decidedly with that faction, and had given such decided proof of a desire to uphold the cause of Constitutional monarchy, the whole Piedmontese society had rallied round the Throne in support of the cry of national independence. This feeling had been further strengthened by the arbitrary attacks made against the rights of property by the military Government of Lombardy, there existing numerous connexions between the upper classes of the two States.

M. Antioch further stated that he had heard that the Committee preparing the answer to the address would be unanimous in recommending the renewal of hostilities; that the King, the Ministry, and the Chambers, were all of one mind; that 60,000 men were already concentrating on the Tessin. The expedition detached into Tuscany under General La Marmora would only amount to 10,000 or 12,000 men, and therefore would not materially weaken the force of the Sardinian army, whilst it would be a great moral support to it. Under these circumstances M. Antioch himself expected that the conviction that the conferences at Brussels were only a delusion, would be followed by cannon-shots on the Tessin.

No. 153.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 25.)

My Lord,

Paris, February 24, 1849.

IN the course of the morning I have had an opportunity of communicating to M. Drouyn de Lhuys the substance of your Lordship's despatch of yesterday's date to Lord Ponsonby. The French Minister was a little disappointed, as

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indeed I was myself, that Count Colloredo should have arrived in London without any discretionary instructions from which an assurance might have been derived that the conferences at Brussels were really intended to take place; but under these discouraging circumstances M. Drouyn de Lhuys seemed to approve much of the nature of your Lordship's communication to Vienna. He repeated the reason why it was impossible for France to bind herself by any previous declaration, though should the conferences be once opened, Austria would not find the existing Government unreasonable in considering the terms of pacification.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 154.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 26.)

My Lord,

Vienna, February 20, 1849.

ON the 18th at night I received your Lordship's despatch inclosing Lord Normanby's report dated Paris, February 9, of a conversation his Lordship had with M. Drouyn de Lhuys on the subject of the proposed meeting at Brussels for the mediation, &c.

Thinking it right to make to the Imperial Minister for Foreign Affairs a formal official communication of the substance of the conversation between Lord Normanby and M. Drouyn de Lhuys, I wrote an official note (a copy of which I inclose) and took it myself to Prince Schwarzenberg, who had just arrived from Olmütz, in order to discuss the question with him.

When the Prince had read my note he read to me his despatch to Count Colloredo, of which the Count has made known to your Lordship the substance.

The Prince and I had a long conversation. He maintained his opinion that he could not send a Minister to the conferences without incurring loss of dignity and the risk of being placed in a situation which would occasion danger to the preservation of peace; and he asserted more than once the proposition that differences which arose in a Congress were more than anything else likely to produce a war. That he must also feel the proposal that Austria should abandon any of her territories to be a proposal somewhat injurious, and one to which he could not expose himself, and therefore that he must have an assurance that no such proposal would be made in the Conference before he could consent to send a Minister to make part of it.

I replied that I could not conceive how the dignity of any Government would suffer from the fact of its Minister making one of a meeting consisting of the Representatives of England and France, but that were his general principle to be admitted, "that there was more danger to peace arising from difference of opinion in a Conference than from other causes," it would still be necessary to compare the danger he spoke of on the present occasion with the danger which might attend the refusal to enter the Conference now proposed, and he would find this latter much greater than the former.

I could not comprehend I said that a proposal for the adoption of a particular mode of re-establishing peace could be in itself an injurious thing. Austria no doubt would be considered by France and England fully entitled to make any proposal that Austria might think fit to bring forward, and it was enough that every party should have a right to decline or agree to the proposition. The Austrian Minister taking his place in the Congress would be instructed by his Government what he should agree to and what he should decline.

Where is the danger? How is the freedom and the power of action of the Austrian Minister limited?

I called to the recollection of the Prince that he had said he was under a moral obligation to send a Minister to the Conference. He admitted it, but said he must have an assurance that the question of the cession of Austrian territories should not be mooted. I observed that the moral obligation he was under is not dependent upon conditions made after the obligation had been incurred, and also that I had shown that no conceivable mischief could ensue from acting under that obligation in this case.

I have already troubled your Lordship too much to proceed with my report of the dialogue, but I wish to add a few words.

I found Prince Schwarzenberg apparently unconscious of the possibility that a refusal to send a Minister to Brussels should be considered by anybody in France as an offence. I have shown him that it has already been ill-seen there, that it has even been called a trifling with the mediating Powers; and I have endeavoured to show him that the refusal would diminish the power of the French Ministers to meet the clamour that may be raised by the parties in France desirous of war,—parties which it seems to me may under the existing circumstances in France obtain a great share of influence over the public mind by having to state that France has been trifled with.

Your Lordship will learn from Count Colloredo what his directions are from Prince Schwarzenberg, which will leave Vienna this day. I believe they are to this effect, to ask your Lordship to give him an assurance that the cession of territories belonging to Austria shall not be pressed in the Conference. Your Lordship may rely upon it that if that cession shall be pressed a direct and positive refusal will be given by Austria.

I have not hesitated to tell Prince Schwarzenberg that if he refuses to send a Minister to the Conference, and if there should be a quarrel with the French on that account, the responsibility for creating a war will be upon himself.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

Inclosure in No. 154.

Viscount Ponsonby to Prince Schwarzenberg.

Vienna, February 19, 1849.

THE Undersigned, &c., thinks it proper to bring under the notice of his Highness Prince Schwarzenberg the substance of the information which the Undersigned has received from London under date the 9th instant.

In a despatch written by the Undersigned, and addressed to Her Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs, the intention entertained by his Highness Prince Schwarzenberg to send a Plenipotentiary to Brussels was mentioned, and also the determination of his Highness not to make any cession of territory. The two facts were communicated to M. Drouyn de Lhuys, who said that "great interests are at stake, and great results dependent on the manner in which the Austrian Government entered upon these conferences. If the Imperial Government was contented with saying that the Austrian Plenipotentiary sent to Brussels was to consider the terms of a peace to be made with Sardinia, and that upon discussion of the terms of peace it should be found that the Imperial Government was not disposed to make any territorial concessions, the question would then arise for France, whether or not that decision of the Austrian Government would be a case of war."

M. Drouyn de Lhuys himself would certainly say not, and would endeavour to consider the most equitable terms coming within the limits of no territorial concession; but if the Austrian Government before entering upon the conferences should make strongly expressed declarations of what it would or would not listen to, it might be difficult for the French Government to proceed.

The Undersigned has no doubt that the amicable feelings of M. Drouyn de Lhuys will be evident to his Highness Prince Schwarzenberg, and that peace or war may depend upon the manner of conducting affairs, even more than upon the matter in question, and the Undersigned rejoices in entertaining that opinion, because he is confident that it is not in accordance with the elevated tone and character of the Imperial Government to give cause unnecessarily for dissatisfaction to anybody, and therefore the Undersigned confidently anticipates that the peace of Europe will be ensured by the amenity and wisdom of the Imperial Minister.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed)

PONSONBY.

No. 155.

Sir Hamilton Seymour to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 26.)

(Extract.)

Lisbon, February 18, 1849.

WHEN I called upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the 16th instant, his Excellency took occasion to speak to me of the Congress upon Roman affairs, which he believes will soon assemble.

Viscount de Castro observed that from the circumstance of the Pope remaining at Gaeta he thought it probable that the Congress would be held in that neighbourhood, and that he was desirous of informing me that he had sent to Baron Venda da Cruz the necessary full powers enabling him to attend the Conferences as the Plenipotentiary of Portugal.

No. 156.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Hamilton Seymour.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 26, 1849.

WITH reference to the conversation which passed between you and Viscount de Castro on the 16th instant, the substance of which is reported in your despatch of the 18th February, I have to inform you that there is no likelihood at present of a Congress on the affairs of the Roman States.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 157.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Eddisbury.

(Extract.)

Admiralty, February 24, 1849.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith for the information of Viscount Palmerston, copy of a letter from Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker, dated the 15th instant.

Inclosure in No. 157.

Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

"Hibernia," Naples, February 15, 1849.

WITH reference to my letter of the 14th instant, I request you will inform the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that Her Majesty's ship "Vengeance" sailed this morning for Leghorn and Genoa.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. PARKER.

No. 158.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 26.)

(Extract.)

Turin, February 21, 1849.

IT is with much regret that I have to announce to-day to your Lordship that this morning M. Gioberti received notice from the King that his resignation was accepted, and desiring him to transfer temporarily the direction of the Foreign Affairs of this country to General Chiodo, until his permanent successor shall be named.

The rest of the Sardinian Cabinet, inclusive of Signor Rattazzi, retain their respective offices.

Up to yesterday evening M. Gioberti had no reason to doubt His Sardinian Majesty's approbation and support of the policy which he proposed to follow; and when replying yesterday evening to a deputation sent to him from a large assembly of persons of all classes, clergy, national guards, superior officers of the army, and the respectable class of citizens who had collected in front of the Foreign Office to testify their approbation of the conduct and views of the President of the Council, he stated to them the complete good understanding that existed between his Sovereign and himself.

No. 159.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 26.)

My Lord,

Florence, February 16, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship a despatch from Mr. Petre informing me of a decree adopted by the Constituent Assembly of the Roman States prohibiting the alienation of Church property.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 159.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Rome, February 14, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you for the information of Viscount Palmerston, that the Constituent Assembly yesterday decreed, as a case of urgency, that,

Any whatever alienation of fixed and moveable property belonging to religious houses, or to any other ecclesiastical establishment, pious use and so-called mortmain, is prohibited under pain of nullity. That

Measures will be taken to prevent substruction of moveable property belonging to pious establishments.

The declaring of Church property to be the property of the State, the assigning of sums necessary for the maintenance of public worship and of the priesthood, and the letting of this property on perpetual leases (*en fief*) were measures to be taken into consideration by the sections of the Assembly to which they were referred.

I am, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM PETRE.

No. 160.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 26.)

(Extract.)

Florence, February 17, 1849.

ALL the foreign Ministers and Chargé d'Affaires now resident in Florence, with the exception of the French Minister (who has received his letters of recall and is about to be replaced by Count Walewsky), met at my house on the 15th to consult as to the expediency of their proceeding to the Grand Duke at Porto Santo Stefano.

The Sardinian Minister had already received instructions from his Government to reside wherever His Royal Highness might be. The remaining members of the Diplomatic Body agreed that they would follow his example.

I expressed my regret that the present rigorous season would not allow me to accompany them.

As the journey is a difficult one, Santo Stefano being situated at the extremity of the Maremma, the Ministers asked me whether I could not assist them by a passage on board one of Her Majesty's steamers. The distance from Leghorn not being very considerable, I thought it expedient to comply with their wishes. They embarked last night on board the "Porcupine" for Santo Stefano.

As head of the Diplomatic Body I have called on the President of the Provisional Government to protect the domiciles of the absent Ministers.

The Venetian Government have declined joining the Provisional Government of Tuscany in their project for an Italian National Assembly.

M. Mazzini has arrived in Florence.

No. 161.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Lord Eddisbury.

My Lord,

Admiralty, February 24, 1849.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith for the information of Viscount Palmerston, copies of a letter from Vice-Admiral Sir W. Parker dated the 14th instant, and of its inclosures, reporting the proceedings consequent upon the departure of the Grand Duke of Tuscany from Siena and arrival at San Stefano, the commotions expected at Genoa, and the proclaiming the Republic at Rome.

I am, &c.

(Signed) H. G. WARD.

Inclosure in No. 161.

Vice-Admiral Sir William Parker to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Extract.)

"Hibernia," Naples, February 14, 1849.

I REQUEST you will inform the Lords of the Admiralty that at 4 P.M. of the 11th instant, Her Majesty's steamer "Porcupine" arrived at Naples with a despatch from Captain Codrington of the "Thetis," informing me that the Grand Duke of Tuscany and his family had quitted Siena and arrived at San Stefano on the evening of the 8th instant. In consequence of an intimation which Captain Codrington had received from his Excellency Sir George Hamilton, the "Porcupine" met His Imperial Highness at San Stefano nearly at the same time, and the "Thetis," which left Leghorn Roads on the 8th, joined them on the following evening.

Captain Codrington communicated with Porto Ferrajo on his route and ascertained that all was quiet there.

Not a moment was lost after the arrival of the "Porcupine" in dispatching the "Antelope" to relieve the "Bulldog" at Civita Vecchia, with directions for Commander Key to join Captain Codrington at San Stefano for the purpose of affording reception and conveyance to the Grand Duke and his family in any direction they might desire.

The "Antelope" sailed at 2 A.M. of the 12th, and on the evening of the day, as soon as the "Porcupine" had coaled, the latter vessel returned to communicate with the "Thetis" at San Stefano, and to convey instructions to Captain Baynes of the "Bellcophon," whom I had fortunately detained at Leghorn in consequence of the threatening state of affairs there.

I am not informed what the intentions of the Grand Duke are with regard to his further movements.

No. 162.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 27.)

My Lord,

Milan, February 20, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to state for your Lordship's information, that a circular from the Provincial Delegation of Milan was issued here on the 19th instant, dated the 17th, addressed to the District Commissaries, the Communal Deputations, the curates in the different parishes, and the members of the Provincial Congregations, calling their attention to the copy of a circular from the Imperial Plenipotentiary, Count Montecucoli, of the 13th instant, in which last the Count refers to the copy of a despatch from his Excellency Field-

Marshal Count Radetzky of the 9th instant, addressed to the military commandants in the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom.

As these circulars contain irrelevant matter and many repetitions, I shall only submit to your Lordship a part of his Excellency Field-Marshal Count Radetzky's circular to the military commandants, which contains every necessary information. This document begins by declaring it to be his Excellency's intention that each company in the Italian regiments shall be raised from 120 to 140 men, out of which company, when completed, twenty men of good conduct who have served faithfully, shall receive their discharge; and then proceeds in these words:

"The above-mentioned number must be immediately completed. All the civil authorities shall make themselves perfectly instructed respecting the present regulation, and are required on their responsibility to contribute zealously thereto. The communes are responsible for the number of individuals they are respectively required to furnish. Experience has proved that the fresh and increasing desertions from the Regiment Haugwitz are principally promoted at the instigation of relations and friends. Another fact is, that the deserters remain in their communes, a circumstance of which the local authorities are cognizant, they even affording them pecuniary aid. For the purpose of checking such proceedings the communal authorities are hereby ordered to make known to the public that those communes in which a deserter shall be harboured, unless he be delivered up by the same authorities thereof within a certain time, shall be subject to a fine of 500 Austrian livres. The same fine shall be inflicted also on the commune in which such deserter shall be arrested, if on his deposition it is proved that he remained there when known to be a deserter. The family to which a deserter may belong must furnish a substitute therefrom, where there is one fit for military service; where there is not, the commune itself must find another man. In case the deserter has carried off with him his dress, arms, and accoutrements, the commune shall make the relative indemnity for the same. Any commune which, within five days from the intimation respecting the fine inflicted on it, does not make the due payment thereof to the respective district commissary, for its ulterior transmission to the commandant of the regiment, shall be subject to double the said fine, and besides shall be obliged to feed and lodge at their expense a detachment of troops, and to pay each soldier one Austrian livre per diem until such time as the fine is liquidated. Rigorous military measures will be adopted against such communes as shall remain disobedient. A public notice to this effect shall be given out in every church in each commune by the parish priest during three days, including holidays; and a printed copy of it shall be posted up on the wall of the communal town-hall, and in particular it must be communicated by the chief communal authority to those families to which deserters may belong. It may be a motive for my adopting more severe measures, in case that from any seeming difficulties these my orders be not fully carried into effect. All the military and civil authorities must be made clearly to understand that I will punish with the utmost rigour any negligence on their part in the execution of these my orders, enjoining that they be speedily complied with without any mitigation whatever. It is obvious that those against whom proofs can be brought of having indeed any soldier not to deliver himself up or to desert, will be considered as guilty of the crime of unlawful enrolment, and as such tried by martial law, without distinction of birth or station."

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 163.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 27, 1849.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 15th instant, reporting the substance of the letter addressed by your Excellency to Prince Schwarzenberg on the subject of the proposed conferences at Brussels, as well as what passed between your Excellency and Baron Werner on the same subject, I have to inform your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government approve the language held by you on those occasions.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 164.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 28.)

(Extract.)

Florence, February 19, 1849.

I FIND great difficulty in giving your Lordship a correct account of the state of affairs here, as it varies every hour.

Yesterday evening M. Mazzoni, disapproving of some acts of the Provisional Government, resigned. M. Zannatti, a surgeon of great eminence and General of the Civic Guard, became a member of the Provisional Government in his place. They have assumed the title of Triumvirate. All their ammunition was taken from the Civic Guard. I hear that the Republic is to be proclaimed to-day.

Hundreds of desperate characters have arrived from Leghorn. The tree of liberty with the *bonnet rouge* has been erected. As all seems confusion and dismay, the nobility flying, and no one element of resistance visible, it is too probable that pillage and lawless violence will take place before any event can occur to prevent it.

No. 165.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received February 28.)

My Lord,

Turin, February 23, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Marquis Colli has been appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs and that he has entered upon the duties of his office.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 166.

Prince Schwarzenberg to Count Colloredo.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by Count Colloredo.)

M. le Comte,

Olmütz, le 12 Février, 1849.

LE retour dans les eaux de Venise de l'escadre Sarde commandée par le Vice-Amiral Albini, conjointement avec les nombreux symptômes d'intentions hostiles qui se manifestent en Piémont, ont jeté l'alarme dans le commerce de Trieste. Les appréhensions auxquelles on se livre dans cette ville maritime se sont trahies par une pétition adressée au Ministre du Commerce, et que celui-ci m'a fait passer, en m'en recommandant l'objet de la manière la plus chaleureuse. J'ai l'honneur, M. le Comte, de vous transmettre ci-près copie de la note de M. de Bruck. Cette pièce renferme beaucoup de données de nature à faire voir combien d'intérêts seraient gravement compromis si la reprise des hostilités allait de nouveau exposer le commerce de Trieste aux vexations auxquelles il a été en butte l'année dernière de la part de la marine Sarde.

L'Autriche, votre Excellence le sait, ne désire que la paix, et elle ne sera pas la première à recommencer la guerre. Une nouvelle agression de la Sardaigne nous forcerait à courir encore une fois les hasards des batailles, que nous voudrions au moins faire tout ce qui dépend de nous pour circonscire dans les limites les plus étroites les maux inévitables de la guerre.

C'est dans ce but que l'Autriche, dans le cas où les hostilités éclateraient sur la terre ferme, serait prête, pour sa part et à titre de réciprocité, à s'en tenir strictement aux termes de la déclaration que la Sardaigne nous avait fait parvenir dans les premiers jours du mois d'Avril de l'année dernière. Cette déclaration dont le texte se trouvait joint à la dépêche adressée à la Mission de l'Empereur à Londres, à la date du 22 Avril dernier, et qui a été communiquée alors à Lord Palmerston, avait pour but de maintenir entre les deux parties belligérantes la paix maritime, et de mettre à l'abri de toute vexation réciproque les bâtimens marchands de l'une et de l'autre nation. Nous avons dans le temps accueilli

avec empressement la proposition Sarde, et nous avons fait connaître par la voie de la publicité, l'adhésion que nous y avions donnée.

Les événements subséquens qui sont généralement connus ont démontré à notre regret que la Sardaigne n'a pas su rester fidèle à la ligne de conduite conforme à l'intérêt général qu'elle s'était d'abord tracée par rapport au commerce maritime. Il est dès-lors naturel que sa déclaration primitive ne soit plus de nature à inspirer de la confiance au commerce de Trieste, à moins qu'elle ne soit revêtue d'une nouvelle sanction et d'une garantie assez puissante pour rassurer les esprits.

Le commerce de Trieste n'embrasse pas seulement des intérêts Autrichiens, mais également et dans des proportions très étendues ceux des autres nations commerçantes, au premier rang desquelles brille l'Angleterre. Les atteintes portées au commerce de Trieste tourneraient infailliblement en autant de pertes dont seraient victimes de nombreux sujets de Sa Majesté Britannique.

La protection éclairée et efficace que le Gouvernement Anglais est habitué d'accorder au commerce de ses ressortissans nous fait espérer qu'il accueillera avec intérêt notre proposition, et qu'il ne se refusera pas à employer sa puissante influence auprès de la Cour de Sardaigne pour la décider à y accéder de son côté. Ce que nous venons de demander à l'Angleterre n'est pas un acte susceptible de compromettre le moins du monde l'attitude de neutralité qu'elle a prise dans la lutte entre l'Autriche et la Sardaigne; c'est un service qui, tout en ayant à nos yeux une haute valeur, tournerait à la fois au profit du commerce Anglais, et qui dans la malheureuse éventualité d'une nouvelle guerre aurait pour effet d'en atténuer au moins considérablement les calamités. En se prêtant à seconder nos vues, l'Angleterre ne ferait qu'agir dans l'intérêt de l'humanité, de la civilisation, et de la liberté du commerce dont la Grande Bretagne est le défenseur né. Le zèle éclairé dont vous êtes animé pour le service de l'Empereur me dispense de la nécessité de vous faire observer particulièrement, M. le Comte, qu'une solution favorable de cette question sera d'autant plus utile qu'elle sera plus prompte; car l'incertitude qui paralyse l'esprit de spéculation est pour le commerce un mal aussi grand que la guerre elle-même.

J'invite votre Excellence à faire valoir auprès de Lord Palmerston les considérations qui précèdent, et à nous rendre compte de l'accueil qu'elles rencontreront auprès de sa Seigneurie.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) F. SCHWARZENBERG.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte,

Olmütz, February 12, 1849.

THE return to the Venetian waters of the Sardinian squadron commanded by Vice-Admiral Alhini, taken in conjunction with the numerous symptoms of hostile intentions displayed in Piedmont, have caused alarm to the commerce of Trieste. The fears which persons in that maritime town entertain, are expressed in a petition addressed to the Minister of Commerce, which he has transmitted to me, recommending, in the most urgent manner, the contents thereof to my attention. I have the honour to inclose to you herewith a copy of M. de Bruck's note. That document contains various facts calculated to show how many interests would be seriously compromised if a resumption of hostilities were again to expose the commerce of Trieste to the annoyances to which it was subjected last year by the Sardinian fleet.

Austria, your Excellency is aware, only desires peace, and she will not be the first to recommence the war. A fresh aggression on the part of Sardinia would oblige us again to encounter the hazards of battle, so that we would do at least all that depends upon us to confine the inevitable miseries of war within the narrowest limits.

It is with this object that Austria, in the event of hostilities breaking out on the mainland, would be ready on her side, and on the condition of reciprocity, to abide strictly by the terms of the declaration which Sardinia caused to be communicated to us during the first days of the month of April last. That declaration, the text of which was annexed to the despatch addressed to the Emperor's Mission in London, dated the 22nd of April last, and which was then communicated to Lord Palmerston, had for its object the maintenance of

maritime peace between the belligerent parties, and to secure from all molestation on either side the merchant-vessels of both nations. We accepted at the time with readiness the Sardinian proposal, and we gave all publicity to our acquiescence in it.

Subsequent events, which are generally known, have shown to our regret that Sardinia has not remained faithful to the line of conduct in conformity with the general interests which she had at first traced out for herself with respect to maritime commerce. It is therefore natural that her original declaration should no longer afford confidence to the trade of Trieste, unless it be supported by a new sanction, and a guarantee powerful enough to reassure people's minds.

The trade of Trieste does not affect Austrian interests alone, but equally and in a very great degree those of other commercial nations, amongst the first of whom stands England. The injuries caused to the trade of Trieste would infallibly occasion many losses, of which numerous subjects of Her Britannic Majesty would be victims.

The enlightened and effective protection which the British Government is accustomed to afford to the commerce of its subjects causes us to hope that it will receive our proposal with interest, and that it will not refuse to employ its powerful influence over the Sardinian Court in order to induce it on its part to agree to it. What we now ask of England is not an act calculated to compromise in the least the neutral attitude which she has assumed in the contest between Austria and Sardinia; it is a service which, whilst being of great value in our eyes, would at the same time be advantageous to English commerce, and which, in the unhappy event of a new war, would lead to a considerable diminution of its calamities. In consenting to support our views, England would be only acting in the interests of humanity, of civilization, and of that freedom of commerce of which England is the born defender. Your enlightened zeal, M. le Comte, for the service of the Emperor, relieves me from the necessity of particularly impressing upon you that a favourable decision on this question will be the more beneficial in proportion as it is speedy; for the state of uncertainty which paralyzes the spirit of speculation is as great an evil to trade as war itself.

I have to request that your Excellency will press the above-mentioned considerations upon Lord Palmerston, and that you will make us acquainted with the manner in which they may be received by his Lordship.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) SCHWARZENBERG.

No. 167.

Prince Schwarzenberg to Count Colloredo.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by Count Colloredo.)

M. le Comte,

Olmütz, le 16 Février, 1849.

PEU de jours après l'expédition de ma dépêche du 9 du courant, M. l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre et M. le Chargé d'Affaires de France se présentèrent chez M. le Sous-Secrétaire d'Etat au Département des Affaires Etrangères, dans le but que voici.

Lord Ponsonby, qui venait de recevoir un courrier de son Gouvernement, déclara au Baron de Werner que le Cabinet Britannique désirait vivement que l'on procédât à l'ouverture des conférences destinées à amener la conclusion de la paix entre l'Autriche et la Sardaigne, et qu'il nous engageait par conséquent à donner à notre Plénipotentiaire l'ordre de se rendre sans délai à Bruxelles. Les motifs que le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat Britannique faisait valoir par l'organe de l'Ambassadeur, à l'appui de sa demande, portaient exclusivement sur son désir sincère d'éviter tout ce qui pourrait compromettre la paix Européenne. Or, retarder l'œuvre de la médiation, ou bien l'abandonner entièrement, ce serait, selon Lord Palmerston, donner un nouvel élan au parti de la guerre tant en France qu'en Italie, et par là contraindre peut-être le Gouvernement Français à quitter, bien malgré lui, cette position expectante et pacifique dans laquelle il avait su se maintenir jusqu'à présent. L'Ambassadeur ajouta qu'il avait prié M. de la Cour de s'associer à sa démarche, ne fût-ce que pour être témoin de la

manière dont il plaidait la cause de la paix autant que celle du Gouvernement Français.

Le Chargé d'Affaires de France sans se référer à des instructions *ad hoc* s'exprima dans le même sens.

Le Baron de Werner a dû naturellement se borner à prendre *ad referendum* les paroles de MM. les Représentans d'Angleterre et de France.

Quant à moi, M. le Comte, j'ai si souvent été dans le cas de m'expliquer envers le Cabinet de Londres, soit par l'organe de notre Mission à Londres, soit dans mes entretiens avec Lord Ponsonby, sur la valeur que, vu les circonstances présentes et les intentions hautement manifestées par le Gouvernement Sarde, nous attachons à la médiation, sur les résultats qu'elle peut amener, et sur la seule base que nous admettons comme point de départ des négociations qui doivent s'entamer à Bruxelles, que je serais en vérité fort embarrassé de rien ajouter de nouveau à mes paroles et à mes dépêches. Les affaires ne se font qu'aux conditions qui dérivent de la nature même de ces affaires. C'est en ce point sortant du cercle plus ou moins étroit, plus ou moins large, de ces conditions, qu'on peut raisonnablement espérer de parvenir à une solution heureuse. Une médiation entre deux parties belligérantes après une campagne qui a fini par la victoire de l'une et par la défaite de l'autre de ces parties, ne saurait avoir pour objet d'adjuger au vaincu le prix de la victoire remportée sur lui. Cela serait doublement impossible si le vainqueur par le sort de la guerre n'avait fait que rentrer dans ses droits. Voilà le seul point de vue sous lequel on puisse envisager le différend Austro-Sarde. Le Cabinet Impérial ne peut en admettre d'autre. Si les deux Puissances maritimes, ainsi que les explications de leurs Représentans doivent nous le faire croire, partagent notre manière de voir à cet égard; si elles nous donnent l'assurance positive et formelle de ne point appuyer les prétentions inqualifiables du Cabinet Sarde, mais au contraire de les écarter comme inadmissibles; si elles adoptent d'avance comme point de départ de la médiation, la base sur laquelle seule nous saurions entrer en négociation, savoir, le maintien de la circonscription territoriale telle qu'elle a été consacrée par les traités, tant à l'égard de l'Autriche qu'à celui des Duchés de Parme et de Modène; alors nous n'hésiterons pas un instant à expédier à notre Plénipotentiaire ses pleins-pouvoirs en même tems que l'ordre de se rendre à Bruxelles.

Je vous prie, M. le Comte, de communiquer à Lord Palmerston la présente dépêche.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) F. SCHWARZENBERG.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte,

Olmütz, February 16, 1849.

A FEW days after the departure of my despatch of the 9th instant the English Ambassador and the French Chargé d'Affaires called upon the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs with the following object.

Lord Ponsonby, who had just received a courier from his Government, declared to Baron Werner that the British Government was particularly anxious that the conferences intended to bring about the conclusion of a peace between Austria and Sardinia should be opened, and that it therefore requested that we would furnish our Plenipotentiary with instructions to proceed without delay to Brussels. The reasons which the British Principal Secretary of State put forward through the Ambassador, in support of his request, rested exclusively upon his sincere wish to obviate everything which could compromise the peace of Europe. According to Lord Palmerston, a delay in the work of mediation, or the abandoning it completely, would give a new impulse to the war party both in France and in Italy, and might thus oblige the French Government to depart, contrary to its own inclinations, from that expectant and pacific position which it has been able to maintain for itself up to the present time. The Ambassador added that he had begged M. de la Cour to join in this step, if it were only that he might be a witness to the way in which he pleaded the cause of peace, as well as that of the French Government.

The French Chargé d'Affaires, without referring to instructions *ad hoc*, expressed himself in the same sense.

Baron Werner was naturally obliged to accept only *ad referendum* the words of the Representatives of England and of France.

As concerns myself, M. le Comte, I have so often had occasion to explain myself to the Cabinet of London, either through the instrumentality of our Mission in London, or in my conversations with Lord Ponsonby, as to the value which, bearing in mind present circumstances, and the intentions openly shown by the Sardinian Government, we attach to the mediation,—as to the results which it may bring about,—and as to the only basis which we admit of as the starting-point of the negotiations which are to be carried on at Brussels,—that I should be in truth much embarrassed to add anything new to my words and my despatches. Business is carried on only on the conditions resulting from the nature of the business itself. It is by not departing from the circle more or less narrow, more or less large, of those conditions, that it can reasonably be hoped to arrive at a satisfactory solution. A mediation between two belligerent parties after a campaign, which has terminated by the victory of the one and the defeat of the other of those parties, cannot have for its object to adjudge to the vanquished the reward of the victory obtained over him. That would be doubly impossible if the conqueror by the chances of war only recovered his rights. This is the only point of view in which the difference between Austria and Sardinia can be regarded. The Imperial Cabinet can admit of no other. If the two maritime Powers, as the explanations given by their Representatives would make us believe, share in our views on this point,—if they give us a positive and formal assurance that they will not support the unjustifiable pretensions of the Sardinian Cabinet, but, on the contrary, will set them aside as inadmissible,—if they adopt from the outset as the starting-point of the mediation the basis on which alone we can enter into negotiation, that is to say, the maintenance of the territorial limits such as they have been laid down in treaties, both as concerns Austria and the Duchies of Parma and of Modena,—then we would not hesitate a moment in sending to our Plenipotentiary his full powers, together with instructions to proceed to Brussels.

I request you, M. le Comte, to communicate the present despatch to Lord Palmerston.

Receive, &c.
(Signed) SCHWARZENBERG.

No. 168.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 1.)

(Extract.)

Turin, February 24, 1849.

THE Nuncio called upon me yesterday evening for the purpose of communicating to me a note which his Excellency Cardinal Antonelli had addressed on the 18th instant to the various members of the Diplomatic Body at Gaeta, in which his Excellency announces that His Holiness the Pope had decided upon claiming the immediate armed intervention of Austria, France, Spain, and Naples, in order to restore him to his dominions and to his authority.

This document gives an historical sketch of the Pontificate of His Holiness Pius IX from the commencement of his reign; of the policy which he has followed; of the political benefits conferred by him upon his subjects; of the ungrateful return made to him by them; of the obligation under which His Holiness found himself placed to quit his own States in consequence of the outrageous treatment which he had received from the people of Rome; of the rebellious conduct of the Romans in declaring His Holiness to be deprived of all temporal authority as a Sovereign, and proclaiming a Republican form of Government; and it concludes by announcing in terms of the extract, copy and translation of which I have the honour herewith to transmit to your Lordship, the fact that His Holiness had in consequence of all the above-mentioned circumstances applied to Austria, France, Spain, and Naples, for their assistance to be reinstated in his authority by means of an armed intervention on their part.

These Powers will clearly not hesitate to comply with the request made to

them by the head of the Roman Catholic Church; and though it is evident that it will not require the service of a large force to reduce the Roman States to perfect obedience, the present intervention may possibly be made the pretext for a prolonged and large military occupation of the provinces of Central Italy by foreign troops.

If the results to be expected from this quadruple intervention could be limited to the suppression in the Roman States of the Republican form of Government, no serious mischief would be likely to arise from it; but I am sadly afraid when it becomes known that the Pope has actually applied in earnest terms to Austria for military intervention in his behalf against his own subjects, the Revolutionary party in this country may raise the cry that the moment is come for re-entering Lombardy and renewing hostilities, and that His Sardinian Majesty, yielding to the representations which no doubt will be made to him of the state of public opinion, and of the loyalty and affection of the present Chamber to the dynasty of the House of Savoy, may be hastily induced to sanction the re-opening of a campaign against the Austrians in Lombardy.

I would wish therefore to prepare your Lordship's mind that such may be the course which matters may take here.

Inclosure in No. 168.

Note Addressed to the Diplomatic Body at Gaeta.

(Translation.)

(Extract.)

Gaeta, February 18, 1849.

THE Holy Father having exhausted all the means in his power, and urged by the obligation which he owes to the whole Catholic world to preserve in its integrity the patrimony of the Church and the sovereign rights annexed to it, which are so necessary to the maintenance of his full liberty and independence as head of the Church, and further moved by the representations of the well-disposed, who being no longer able to bear an iron yoke and a tyrannical rule are loudly calling for assistance, has recourse once more to those Powers, and more especially to such as are Catholic, who have with such generosity of mind and in a manner which left no doubt as to their purpose, shown that they were decided to defend his cause, in the certainty that they will by every endeavour on their part and by their moral intervention promote his restoration to his See and to the capital of those dominions which have been constituted in order to maintain his full liberty and independence, and which have moreover been guaranteed to him by the treaties which form the basis of the public law of Europe.

And because Austria, France, Spain, and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies are by their geographical position in a situation to be able effectually to concur by means of their arms in restoring in the dominions of the Holy See the public order which has been set aside by a band of factious, the Holy Father trusting in the religious zeal of these daughters of the Church, requests with full confidence their armed intervention for the purpose of liberating the States of the Church from that faction of wicked men who by crimes of every description exercise the most atrocious despotism.

Thus will order be re-established in the States of the Church, and the Supreme Pontiff restored to the free exercise of his supreme authority, which restoration is loudly called for by his sacred and august character, by the interests of the universal Church, and by the tranquillity of his people; and thus he will be able to preserve the patrimony which he has received on his accession to the Pontificate, and to transmit it entire to his successors. His cause is that of order and of the Catholic religion. For this reason the Holy Father trusts that whilst all the Powers with whom he is on friendly terms, and who in so many ways have shown him their most lively sympathy in the position in which he has been placed by a factious party, will give their moral assistance to the armed intervention which the gravity of the present circumstances has compelled him to apply for, the four Powers above mentioned will lose no time in lending the required aid and in thus rendering themselves well deserving of the cause of public order and of religion.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 1.)

(Extract.)

Turin, February 24, 1849.

SINCE writing my other despatch of this day's date, I have received the inclosed note from the Government of His Sardinian Majesty, by which they enter a protest against the armed intervention of Austria, France, Spain and Naples, at the request of the Pope, in order to re-establish his authority in the States of the Church.

Inclosure in No. 169.

General Chiodo to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Turin, le 23 Février, 1849.

LE Cardinal Pro-Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Sainteté le Pape a adressé sous la date du 18 de ce mois au Ministre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Sardaigne accrédité près le St. Siège, avec prière de la porter à la connaissance de son Gouvernement, une note, dans laquelle, après avoir retracé l'histoire des événements dont Rome a été récemment la théâtre, il annonce que l'intervention armée de l'Autriche, de la France, de l'Espagne, et de Naples, vient d'être réclamée dans le but de rétablir l'ordre dans les Etats Romains et de replacer le Souverain Pontife dans le libre exercice de sa suprême autorité.

Dès le moment où éclatèrent les déplorables dissensions à la suite desquels le Pape s'est déterminé à s'éloigner de Rome, le Roi, mû par le sentiment de sa profonde vénération pour le Chef de l'Eglise, et fidèle au devoir que lui imposait sa position en Italie, conçut le désir et l'espérance de rétablir par des voies conciliantes et pacifiques entre Sa Sainteté et le peuple de l'Etat Romain, l'harmonie à laquelle se rattache le double intérêt de la religion et de la tranquillité d'Italie. Cet espoir se fortifia encore lorsque Pie IX se confiant avec raison au dévouement et à l'affection du Roi, lui adressa dans ces conjonctures une lettre à laquelle Sa Majesté répondit avec empressement par l'offre des bons offices de son Gouvernement.

Le Cabinet de Sa Majesté avait toute raison d'espérer qu'on obtiendrait ainsi un résultat si désirable, sans apporter dans la question italienne une complication que l'intérêt des Etats Pontificaux et de l'Italie entière devaient faire éloigner. Aussi lorsque le Gouvernement du Roi fut prévenu qu'il était question d'un projet d'intervention armée de l'Espagne en faveur de Pie IX, se crut-il en devoir d'appeler l'attention des Puissances étrangères sur les fâcheuses conséquences dont elle serait la cause inévitable, et de protester formellement contre l'accomplissement d'un pareil projet. Informé maintenant d'une manière positive que le Souverain Pontife, écartant tout moyen pacifique, vient de réclamer l'intervention armée de plusieurs Etats étrangers, afin d'obtenir par l'emploi de la force, un résultat que la prudence devait conseiller d'atteindre par les voies de la modération et de la médiation, le Gouvernement du Roi en confirmant le contenu de la déclaration qu'il a adressée aux Puissances étrangères dès le 12 Janvier dernier, se fait un devoir de protester de la manière la plus formelle contre la démarche actuelle du St. Siège, et contre l'adhésion qui serait accordée à des instances dont le but est d'appeler une intervention étrangère en Italie, tandis qu'on en exclut le Roi de Sardaigne, Prince Italien, dont on refuse la médiation pacifique.

Le Cabinet du Roi en faisant cette protestation peut en établir le droit incontestable en invoquant celui de la nationalité et de l'indépendance Italienne formant la base du droit international qui lie entre eux les Etats de l'Italie, et qui leur impose le devoir de s'opposer à ce qu'une Puissance étrangère à la Péninsule occupe même momentanément une partie de ce pays. Il pourrait aussi s'attacher à opposer des raisons bien justes et bien convaincantes aux motifs par lesquels le Cardinal Secrétaire d'Etat de Sa Sainteté cherche à justifier cet appel à la force. Mais convaincu qu'elles n'échapperont pas à la pénétration des Cabinets étrangers, le Gouvernement du Roi s'abstient de les développer. Il ne saurait cependant, sans manquer à un devoir qui est un juste retour de l'affection et de la sympathie que les divers pays de l'Italie ont témoignées à l'Italie, se dispenser d'appeler encore

l'attention de leurs Gouvernemens sur les déplorables conséquences que doit avoir une intervention étrangère dans un des Etats de l'Italie.

En effet les populations de la Péninsule qui ont obtenu ces institutions qu'elles ont si longtemps appelées de leurs vœux, sont heureuses de la pensée qu'elles en auront la longue et paisible jouissance. C'est à cette condition que se calmera l'agitation qui s'est manifestée parmi elles dans les premiers momens de cette liberté, et qu'elle fera place au désir de l'ordre et de la tranquillité la plus parfaite. Mais si une intervention étrangère apportait au milieu d'elles la crainte de voir l'existence de ces libertés et de ces institutions politiques menacée, elle aurait pour effet inévitable de produire une excitation qui, soutenue par l'irritation de l'amour-propre national, deviendrait la cause des plus fâcheux désordres, peut-être celle des plus graves calamités, car elle pourrait amener la guerre civile en Italie et en Europe une guerre générale.

Cette intervention armée serait d'ailleurs tout-à-fait incohérente avec le but des conférences qui doivent avoir lieu dans ce moment à Bruxelles.

Le Soussigné, &c., en adressant la présente communication à Mr. Abercromby, &c., le prie de vouloir bien la porter à la connaissance de son Gouvernement qui dans sa justice et sa sagesse appréciera le mérite des raisons qui ont imposé à celui de Sa Majesté le devoir de protester.

Il saisit, &c.

(Signé) AUG. CHIODO.

(Translation.)

Turin, February 23, 1849.

THE Cardinal Pro-Secretary of State of His Holiness the Pope has addressed, under date of the 18th instant, to the Minister of His Majesty the King of Sardinia accredited to the Pope, with a request that it should be brought under the consideration of his Government, a note in which, after retracing historically the events of which Rome has of late been the theatre, he announces that the armed intervention of Austria, of France, of Spain, and of Naples, has been requested with the object of restoring order in the Roman States and of replacing the Sovereign Pontiff in the free exercise of his supreme authority.

From the moment when the lamentable dissensions in consequence of which the Pope determined on removing from Rome, first broke out, the King, actuated by a sentiment of profound veneration for the Head of the Church, and faithful to the duty imposed upon him by his position in Italy, conceived the desire and hope of re-establishing, by conciliatory and pacific measures, between His Holiness and the people of the Roman States that state of harmony on which depends the two-fold interest of religion and of peace in Italy. This hope acquired greater strength when Pius IX, confiding with justice in the devotion and affection of the King, addressed to him in the midst of these circumstances a letter, to which His Majesty zealously replied by the offer of the good offices of his Government.

His Majesty's Cabinet had every reason to hope that so desirable an object would thus be obtained without involving the Italian Question in a complication which the interest of the Pontifical States and the whole of Italy should have kept off. Therefore when the King's Government was apprized that there was some question as to a project of the armed intervention of Spain in favour of Pius IX, it considered it to be its duty to call the attention of foreign Powers to the fatal consequences of which it would inevitably be the cause, and to protest formally against its accomplishment. Now being informed in a positive manner that the Sovereign Pontiff, renouncing peaceful means, has lately called for the armed intervention of several foreign States, in order to obtain by the employment of force a result which prudence should have advised him to endeavour to obtain by means of moderation and mediation, the King's Government, whilst repeating the contents of the declaration which it addressed to foreign Powers on the 12th of January last, considers it its duty to protest in the most formal manner against the present proceeding of the Holy See, and against any assent which may be given to representations the object of which is to bring into Italy foreign intervention, whilst the King of Sardinia, an Italian Prince, whose pacific mediation is rejected, is excluded therefrom.

The King's Cabinet, while making this protest, is able to establish its incontestable right by appealing to that of Italian nationality and independence, which forms the basis of the international right which binds together the Italian States,

and which imposes upon them the duty of opposing themselves to even the temporary occupation of a portion of the country by any Power foreign to the Peninsula. It could also adduce very just and convincing reasons in answer to the motives by which the Cardinal Secretary of State endeavours to justify this appeal to force. But convinced that they will not escape the penetration of foreign Cabinets, the King's Government abstains from dwelling upon them. It cannot, however, without being wanting in the duty which is but a fair return for the affection and sympathy which the different countries of Italy have displayed towards Italy, refrain from calling the attention of their Governments to the deplorable consequences which must attend a foreign intervention in one of the States of Italy.

In truth the population of the Peninsula who have obtained the institutions for which they have so long wished, rejoice in the thought that they will have a long and peaceful enjoyment of them. It is on that condition that the agitation which displayed itself among them during the first moments of this liberty will be calmed, and make room for a desire for order and perfect tranquillity. But were a foreign intervention to bring amongst them the fear of seeing the existence of those liberties and of those political institutions threatened, it would, as its unavoidable result, produce an excitement which, supported by the irritation of national self-love, would be the cause of most lamentable disorders, perhaps of the most serious calamities, for it might bring about civil war in Italy and a general war in Europe.

This armed intervention would besides be entirely inconsistent with the object of the conferences which must be taking place at this very moment at Brussels.

The Undersigned, &c., while addressing the present communication to Mr. Abercromby, &c., begs him to have the goodness to bring it under the consideration of his Government, which in its justice and wisdom will appreciate the merits of the reasons which have made it necessary for His Majesty's Government to protest.

He avails, &c.

(Signed)

AUG. CHIODO.

No. 170.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercomby.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 2, 1849.

I HAVE received your despatches of the 24th ultimo, respecting an application made by the Pope to the Governments of Austria, France, Naples, and Spain, for the immediate armed intervention of those Powers in order to reinstate him in his dominions, and stating your opinion that the probabilities of a renewal of hostilities against Austria by the Sardinian Government are much increased by the step thus taken by the Pope.

I have to instruct you to omit no proper opportunity of employing all the arguments with which you have been furnished by your instructions, and which you yourself have already often used to dissuade the King of Sardinia and his Government from taking so rash a course as that which you apprehend they may be inclined to pursue.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

PALMERSTON.

No. 171.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 2.)

My Lord,

Venice, February 8, 1849.

THE Sardinian steamer "Goito" arrived here yesterday morning, having on board the Sardinian General Olivero, the object of whose mission, according to an article published in the Venice official gazette, is to confer with the Commander-in-chief, General Pepe, upon military subjects, "incaricato di conferire col Generale-in-capo Guglielmo Pepe sopra argomenti militari."

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 2.)

My Lord,

Venice, February 19, 1849.

THE Assembly of the representatives of the State of Venice, the decree for the formation of which I transmitted in my despatch of the 27th December last, met for the first time on the 15th instant, when after some preliminary proceedings Signor Manin addressed the members in a short speech, taking a brief review of the measures of the Provisional Government since the meeting of the Assembly in October last, and concluding by stating that it would be for the Assembly to decide with as little delay as possible upon the question of adhering and sending deputies to the "Costituente Italiana." At a subsequent sitting the Assembly decided to confirm the powers exercised by the three members of the Government who have hitherto carried on the Dictatorship, as far as investing them with unlimited authority for the defence of the country, but withdrawing from them all power to prorogue or dissolve the Assembly itself, which is *en permanence*. The Government was at the same time required to furnish the Assembly with detailed information as to the land and sea forces, the public finances, and the relations of Venice with the other States of Italy and foreign Powers.

The sittings of the Assembly have hitherto passed off with perfect tranquillity; but I am sorry to say that rather a serious disturbance took place a few nights ago between some of the townspeople and a party of Neapolitan soldiers, which it required the presence of Signor Manin himself to calm.

I inclose to your Lordship an address issued by the "Circolo Italiano" here to the Sardinian squadron, of which there are now five vessels in this port, calling upon them to fraternize with the Venetians, extolling the Genoese, and abusing the present Ministry at Turin. Little attention seems to be paid to these appeals by the Sardinian officers and sailors, who keep much aloof. Indeed the extreme Republican party here are loud in their expressions of abuse and distrust of Piedmont, and the presence of the Sardinian ships, which have moved up from their anchorage at Malamocco to the immediate vicinity of the town, is viewed with suspicion by many.

It appears to me that the idea is daily gaining ground, that the present state of affairs here cannot continue much longer, but I am sorry to add that those best informed are of opinion that whenever a change does take place it is not likely to pass over without bloodshed.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

Inclosure in No. 172.

Address of the Circolo Italiano to the Sardinian Fleet.

Alla Flotta Sarda. Fratelli!

UNA voce di solenne autorità ha suonato nella Liguria, e troverà un'eco di gioia, un plauso di ammirazione in ogni terra d'Italia: è la voce ben nota del popolo Genovese che, forte degl'innegabili suoi diritti, delle splendide sue memorie, della sua storica energia, della sua compatta concordia, ha giurato in faccia a Dio e in faccia agli uomini, sulla pietra del suo Balilla, di voler essere, a qualunque costo, libero ed Italiano, di volere cioè la Costituente Italiana, e di volerla a dispetto degli ostacoli frapposti da quel Gabinetto, che usurpa il titolo di Democratico, e poneva, recentemente, sulle labbra del Principe parole desolanti ad ogni buon patriota.

Il Ministero che siede oggi a Torino, umilia, contro ragione, il suo Stato: mentre tutta Italia grida dall'Alpi all'Etna, "guerra all'Austria ed unità nazionale!" esso vuole la pace, vuole l'isolamento. Esso temporeggia ed oscilla in faccia all'osco nemico che ripete ad ogni momento gl'insulti: esso professa una inespicabile fiducia nei protocolli d'una bugiarda diplomazia; dimentica i fratelli oppressi, sbadaceggiati, taglieggiati, percossi, fucilati nella Lombardia e nella

Venezia; disconosce la grandezza del movimento Toscano; calunnia la sublimità del popolo Romano, risorto gigante di sapienza civile e politica; ricusa la concentrazione di tutte le forze Italiane per far la guerra.

Fratelli generosi, che ardete di desiderio di sostenere il nome illustre della Genovese marina! Se voi foste stati nella vostra città non avreste mancato alla stupenda manifestazione del 6 Febbraio: avreste sentito anche voi, all' annunzio delle vergogne ministeriali, rimescolarsi nelle vostre vene il sangue degli antichi commilitoni d'Andrea Doria; le vostre destre onorate avrebbero strette quelle dei concittadini, e il vostro labbro avrebbe ripetuto la protesta di tutta Genova.

Fratelli! noi v' invitiamo a far qui in Venezia ciò che avreste fatto nella vostra città. Soldati, voi dovete obbedienza ai vostri capi; ma, cittadini Italiani, non potete mancar all'appello che tutta Italia vi fa. Unitevi a noi sulla gran Piazza di San Marco, e Genova sappia che abbiamo fatto eco alla sua voce, giurando insieme di volere, con tutt' i mezzi che sono in nostra mano, condurre il Piemonte alla desiderata concentrazione di tutte le forze nazionali contro l'usurpatore straniero, di volere insomma la Costituente Italiana, che è l'attuazione dell' idea più feconda, la quale deve condurci ad aver una volta una patria indipendente, libera, una.

Iddio benedirà il nostro giuramento, benedirà la nostra unione fraterna, benedirà il nostro proposito di morire o di giungere alla vittoria! E le vostre famiglie esulteranno nell' udire che i loro figli s'accordano coi fratelli rimasti in Genova.

Viva Genova, la Italianissima Genova!

Viva Italia libera ed una!

Viva la Costituente Italiana!

Viva l'unione di tutte le flotte nazionali sotto il solo tricolore standardo!

Il Comitato Direttore del Circolo Italiano.

Il Tribunato del Circolo Popolare.

(Translation.)

To the Sardinian Fleet. Brethren!

A VOICE of solemn authority has resounded in Liguria; it will meet with a joyous echo, an applause of admiration in every land of Italy. It is the well-known voice of the Genoese people, who, strong in their undeniable rights, in their splendid reminiscences, in their recorded energy, in their complete concord, has sworn in the presence of God and man to be free at any price,—free, and Italian,—to have the Italian Constituent, and to have it in spite of the obstacles interposed by that Cabinet, which, usurping a Democratic title, lately put in the mouth of the Prince words distressing to the ears of every good patriot.

The Ministers who sit to-day in Turin humble their State without reason; whilst all Italy, from the Alps to Etna, cries "War upon the Austrians, and national unity!" They want peace, and want to stand alone. They temporize and hesitate in the face of the hateful enemy, who repeats his insults at every moment. They profess an inexplicable faith in the protocols of a lying diplomacy; they forget their brethren, oppressed, ill-treated, cut up, beaten, shot, in Lombardy and in Venice; they do not recognize the greatness of the Tuscan movements; they calumniate the sublimity of the Roman people—the great advance of civil and political wisdom; they refuse the concentration of all the Italian forces to make war.

Generous brethren, you who burn with the desire of maintaining the illustrious name of the Genoese marine! if you had been at home, you would not have failed to assist in the great manifestation of the 6th February; you also would have felt, upon the announcement of the shame of the Ministry, your blood boil in your veins,—the blood of the old companions in arms of Andrea Doria. Your honourable right hands would have shaken those of your fellow citizens, and your lips would have repeated the protest of all Genoa.

Brethren, we invite you to do here in Venice what you would have done in your own city. As soldiers, you owe obedience to your chiefs; but as Italian citizens, you cannot be unmindful of the appeal that all Italy addresses to you. Join with us on the Gran Piazza of St. Mark, and let Genoa know that we have re-echoed her voice, swearing together, by all the means in our power, to lead Piedmont to the desired concentration of all the national forces against the

usurping stranger, and determined to have the Italian Constituent, which is the completion of the more fertile idea which must lead to our having once for all an independent country free and united. God will bless our oath, our fraternal union, our intention to die or to conquer; and your families will be delighted to hear that their sons have agreed with their remaining brethren in Genoa.

Viva Genoa, most Italian Genoa!

Viva Italy, free, and one!

Viva the Italian Constituent!

Viva the union of all the national fleet under the tricolor standard alone!

No. 173.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 2.)

(Extract.)

Paris, March 1, 1849.

THE French Government will now be obliged to come to an immediate decision as to the part it may be their intention to take in the question of the re-establishment of the Pope.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys informed me yesterday that though he had as yet received no official application on the subject, he had heard from M. d'Harcourt that a general protestation to all the European Powers against the proclamation of the Republic at Rome had been promulgated by the Pope, and a particular application had been made for material assistance in the first instance from Austria, France, Spain, and Naples as most conveniently situated for giving such aid. The Nuncio had given him verbal communication of such an intended application, and he had also heard from the Representatives of Austria, Spain, and Naples, that it was the intention of those Powers to accede to the proposal and to offer their assistance in consequence.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys said he was very desirous to have the opinion of the British Government. All parties he believed would wish for our co-operation in some shape or other; this feeling had been expressed to him particularly by the Duke de Sotomayor, who had at present no direct means of communicating it. M. Drouyn de Lhuys was aware that the position of England and France was different on this subject.

I told M. Drouyn de Lhuys that I could only guess at what was likely to be the conduct of Her Majesty's Government in this contingency, by recalling the language held upon different occasions since the events which had happened at Rome in last November. As to the interest felt in the independent position of the Roman Catholic Church, this was thoroughly shared by Her Majesty's Government, as was indeed conveyed by your Lordship to Prince Castelfidardo, when the Neapolitan Minister proposed on the part of his Government that a Congress should be held to consider the position of the Pope. But that the answer then given that any application on the subject to Her Majesty's Government must come from His Holiness himself was still applicable, as no such demand had been made to us. I said I only mentioned this as a fact, which probably arose from diplomatic relations never having as yet been established by the Pope. But in a former despatch which I had at the time communicated to him, your Lordship whilst expressing the same interest in the restoration of a settled Government at Rome and a reconciliation between the Pope and his subjects, had not appeared to admit that there was anything in the spiritual authority of the Pope to draw a marked distinction between a case which would warrant foreign intervention and one that would not.

No. 174.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 2.)

My Lord,

Florence, February 20, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a proclamation of the Provisional Government against the Grand Duke, denouncing General Laugier as a traitor.

I have received advices from Bologna informing me that 10,000 Austrians

have taken possession of Ferrara, and that the Bolognese are preparing for the defence of their city.

The Archbishop of Bologna has been sent to propitiate the Austrian General Haynau. The inclosure No. 2 is a proclamation of the "President" of Ferrara.

Count Walewsky, the new French Minister at this Court, has arrived here.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 174.

Proclamation of the Provisional Government of Tuscony against the Grand Duke.

Toscani!

IERI pervenne al Governo Provvisorio un proclama del Conte de Laugier, Generale delle Milizie Toscane a Massa, opera di menzogna e di scelleraggine.

Di menzogna—perchè affermava non avere mai l' Leopoldo Austriaco abbandonato la Toscana, mentre è fatto notorio e risultante dai documenti medesimi che emanano da lui come disertasse lo Stato, celandosi, e lasciando la nostra patria senza Governo:—perchè affermava Leopoldo Austriaco fuggendo da Siena avere eletto un Governo Provvisorio ammenda peggiore al bruttissimo fallo, conciossiacosa chè nè il Ministero, nè le Assemblée, nè il Corpo Diplomatico, abbiano mai ricevuta nuova scritta o verbale di simile fatto. Il quale d'altronde viene smentito dalle due lettere che Leopoldo Austriaco inviava al Ministero (documenti unici che il Governo abbia ricevuti da lui), i quali raccomandano il mantenimento dell'ordine, e i suoi servitori, e le sue masserizie; incombenze che certamente non avrebbe il Principe fuggitivo affidate al Ministero che egli tradiva, laddove avesse nominato un Governo Provvisorio: perchè non era vero che Leopoldo Austriaco avesse vietato alla Milizia di sciogliersi dal giuramento, non lo avendo voluto, e volendo ancora non avendolo potuto. Non avendolo voluto, avvegnachè non sia nota veruna dimostrazione declarativa l'animo suo: non avendo potuto, perocchè il giuramento non fosse a lui, ma al Principe Costituzionale, ed avendo egli colla fuga, e col tenersi celato rotto per il primo il patto statutale, non ebbe diritto che altri lo mantenesse: perchè il giuramento dei soldati ha da darsi sempre allo Stato che li nutrice e li paga, alla patria di cui sono figli alla terra che hanno a difendere, agli altari, alle tombe, alle case delle loro famiglie, e di loro, non al Principe, codardo arnese, molto più se fugge, se si appiatta, se fa cosa che torni in malefizio del paese, nostra prima sollecitudine ed amore supremo: perchè ogni Governo che sorge non può mantenere l'ordine interno e procurare la difesa esterna, laddove come rappresentante del paese a lui non obbediscano tutte le forze del Governo.

Di scelleraggine, perchè tendeva a provocare la guerra civile, cacciando il coltello in mano ai fratelli per trucidare i fratelli, per empire di lutto, di orrore, d'incendj, di stragi ogni cosa. Così il Principe che pure ieri si appellava padre del popolo, stanziato a Santo Stefano con un piè sull'estremo lido del mare, e coll'altro sopra un naviglio pronto a fuggire con vergogna, o a raccogliere il frutto sanguinoso della discordia fraterna, tenterebbe distruggere l'ordine che con sue lettere fingeva avere a cuore e raccomandare.

Di scelleraggine, perchè dava ad intendere con fini perversi che ventimila Piemontesi postergata la guerra contro l'Austriaco accorressero a imprendere una guerra Italiana a beneficio di Leopoldo Austriaco. Orrore ed infamia! Perchè quantunque noi separi dai fratelli Piemontesi una opinione intorno alle forme interne di Governo, noi non siamo però meno amici, meno fratelli, meno concordi nella guerra contro l'Austriaco. Si reggano i Piemontesi come meglio loro piace, lascino a noi governarci come meglio ne torna. Noi li soverremmo con ogni maniera d'aiuti onde redimano l'Alta Italia; lascino a noi il riscatto della Italia Centrale. E noi potremo intenderci adesso meglio di prima, e con lealtà maggiore conciossiacchè Leopoldo Austriaco (chechè il suo labbro dicesse) nel cuore sentiva affetto per la famiglia Austriaca.

Il Governo non mancava a sè stesso, e sempre fidente nella sua coscienza, ed in Dio spediva ordini affinchè il traditore de Laugier fosse posto fuori della legge, i soldati tumultuanti si dichiarassero ribelli, i bassi uffiziali che rimanessero fedeli tenessero il posto immediatamente superiore a loro occupato dagli uffiziali

traditori; ordinava alle provincie, segnatamente a Livorno accorresse alla difesa del territorio Toscano; conferiva col rappresentante di Potenza che si dichiarava amica alla Toscana, e senza punto turbarsi provvedeva alla salute della patria.

Grande fu l'ira della Toscana all'udire simile annunzio, si commosse nelle interne viscere, e con un fremito echeggiò tutta dal confine del mare agli Appennini. Popoli e rappresentanti di popoli s'affrettarono a Firenze, e quivi dichiararono sopra la Piazza della Signoria in mezzo alle memorie dei loro famosi Antenati repubblicani, davanti il Palazzo che conserva ancora il motto di libertà, volersi reggere a Repubblica, e in Unione con Roma.

Il Governo ritiene che questo voto verrà largamente confermato dal consenso della universa Toscana, e così la Repubblica dopo 318 anni ritornerà a casa sua.

Iddio che visibilmente ama la nostra terra indi a breve nella immensa sua bontà volle dare a questo popolo generoso il premio della sua costanza.

Conciosiachè notizie sicure ci pervenissero da Livorno e da Massa (e non poteva essere a meno) brutta menzogna essere che i Piemontesi fratelli venissero a imprendere contro ai Toscani una guerra fraterna, ed acerbissimi nemici dell'Austriaco con un fiume di sangue Italiano accorressero a ristorare il trono di Leopoldo Austriaco.

Eglino sentono vergogna della infame calunnia, protestano delle falsità e invitano a tenerli come noi li tenemmo e li terremo sempre per fratelli di patria, di sventure, di pericoli e di gloria, non obliando mai che l'antico vincolo venne fatto più sacro col mutuo sangue che versammo sopra i campi Lombardi.

Il Conte De Laugier shigottito dall'atrocità del suo delitto, spaventato se non dal rimorso, dalla maledizione che fino i morti avventano dalle antiche sepolture, messo fuori della legge, dichiarato traditore della patria, come percosso di stupidità a quest'ora forse è fuggito.

Fugga! noi non gli invidiamo gli avanzi della miserabile sua vita. Fuggai e viva, ma di tale una vita che la luce del sole gli torni in supplizio, e desider l'ombra della morte come sollievo della vergogna e dei mali di cui ha reso gravi i suoi ultimi giorni.

Sù Cittadini—all'armi! all'armi! Dio è con noi. Mostriamoci degni dell'Italia e di Roma.

Firenze, 19 Febbrajo, 1849.

Il Governo Provvisorio,
(Firmato) G. MAZZONI, *Presidente di Settimana*,
• F. D. GUERRAZZI.
G. MONTANELLI.

(Translation.)

Tuscans,

YESTERDAY the Provisional Government received a proclamation of the Count de Laugier, General of the Tuscan militia in Massa, a piece of falsehood and wickedness.

Of falsehood,—because it asserts that Leopold of Austria never abandoned Tuscany; whereas it is a notorious fact, evident from the very documents proceeding from him, how he deserted the State, concealing himself and leaving our country without a Government; because it asserts that Leopold of Austria, flying from Siena, had appointed a Provisional Government, thus making things worse; whereas it is well known that neither the Ministry, nor the Assembly, nor the Diplomatic Corps had ever received any intelligence, written or verbal, of such a fact; which, however, is belied by the letters sent by Leopold of Austria to the Ministry (the only documents that the Government received from him), and which recommend the maintenance of order, and his servants and his farms; a charge the fugitive Prince would certainly not have left to the Ministry whom he betrayed, if he had appointed a Provisional Government;—because it was not true that Leopold of Austria forbade the militia to absolve themselves from their oath, as he did not desire it, and even if he had desired it, he could not have done so. That he did not desire it, is evident from there appearing no demonstration whatever declaratory of his wish; and also that he could not do so, because the oath is not addressed to him, but to the Constitutional Prince, and he having by flight and by concealing himself, first broken the State compact, he had no right to others maintaining it; for the oath of the soldiers

is ever to be held sacred towards the State that nourishes and pays them, towards the country whose sons they are, towards the land they have to defend, towards the altars, the tombs, and the houses of their families and their own; not towards a Prince, much more if he flies, if he yields, if he does anything that turns to the injury of the country, our first solicitude, our supreme love; for every Government that is set up cannot maintain internal order and procure external defence, when the forces of the Government do not obey it as representative of the country.

Of wickedness,—because it tends to bring on civil war, making one brother draw the knife against another to kill him, to fill everything with mourning, with horror, with fire, and massacre. Thus the Prince, who only yesterday called himself the father of his people, stationed in San Stefano with one foot on the shore and the other on a vessel ready to fly with shame, or to reap the bloody fruit of fraternal discord, could attempt to disturb the good order or quiet which he pretended in his letters to have at heart and to recommend.

Of wickedness,—because it insinuated with a perverse object, that 20,000 Piedmontese, neglecting the war against Austria, would hasten to undertake an Italian war for the benefit of Leopold of Austria. Horror and infamy!—because, however we may differ from our Piedmontese brethren in an opinion regarding the internal forms of government, we are not the less friends, the less brothers, the less agreed in the war against Austria. Let the Piedmontese be ruled as it pleases them best, provided they leave us to be governed as it suits us best. We will assist them in every way, in order that they may redeem Italy; let them leave to us the redemption of Central Italy. And now we shall succeed better than before, and with more honour, because Leopold of Austria (whatever he might have said) felt in his heart an affection for the family of Austria.

The Government did not fail in its duty to itself, and always confident in its good conscience and in God, it issued orders to outlaw the traitor De Laugier, to declare the tumultuous soldiers rebels, to put the non-commissioned officers who remained faithful into the superior posts which had been occupied by the treacherous officers. It ordered the people of the provinces to hasten to Leghorn to the defence of the Tuscan territory; it had conferences with the Representatives of the Powers who declared themselves friendly to Tuscany; and without losing presence of mind, it provided for the safety of the country.

Great was the ire of Tuscany on hearing such an announcement; it was stirred up to its very foundation, and the din resounded from the confines of the sea to the Apennines. The people and Representatives of the people hastened to Florence, and there declared in the Piazza della Signoria, in presence of the memorials of their famous republican ancestors, before the palace that preserves to this day the motto of liberty, that they would be governed by a Republic, and in union with Rome.

The Government trusts that this vow will be fully confirmed by the consent of all Tuscany, and thus the Republic, after 318 years, will return to be what it was.

May God, who evidently loves our land, thence in his great goodness he pleased shortly to give to this generous people a recompense for their constancy.

Be it known that we have positive intelligence from Leghorn and from Tuscany (and it could not be otherwise) that it was a shameful falsehood that our Piedmontese brethren were coming to undertake against the Tuscans a war of brothers, and being implacable enemies of Austria, were hastening to restore with torrents of blood, the throne of Leopold of Austria. They are ashamed of such an infamous calumny on them; they protest against the falsehood, and request us to consider them as we have ever done and shall do, brethren of one country—brethren in misfortune, danger, and glory, never forgetting that the ancient tie becomes more sacred with the blood which we have shed for each other in the fields of Lombardy.

The Count de Laugier, dismayed by the atrocity of his crime, scared, if not by remorse, at least by the curses that even the dead call down upon him from the ancient sepulchres, outlawed, declared traitor to his country, has probably by this time, like one struck with imbecility, betaken himself to flight. Let him fly,—we grudge him not the rest of his miserable life. Let him fly, and live but such a life that the light of the sun may become insupportable; and may he

wish the darkness of death as a relief from shame, and the ills which he has made to fall heavy on his last days!

Arise, citizens, to arms! to arms! God is with us; let us show ourselves worthy of Italy and of Rome.

Florence, February 19, 1849.

[Signatures.]

Inclosure 2 in No. 174.

Proclamation of the President of Ferrara.

Repubblica Romana.

Provincia di Bologna.

A comune intelligenza si rende noto al pubblico il seguente dispaccio:

Cittadino,

Ferrara, 18 Febbraio, 1849.

I MIEI timori si sono purtroppo avverati. Questa mattina dopo le ore 7 gli Austriaci in più punti hanno passato il Po. Appena avutone l'avviso ho combinato una Deputazione Governativa e Municipale per presentarsi al Generale Comandante, onde avere una spiegazione sull' ingresso di dette truppe. La Deputazione nel primo incontro del Generale Haynau ha avuto per risposta che sarebbe stata ricevuta nella spianata di questa fortezza.

Le truppe sono entrate sul mezzogiorno, e poco dopo la Deputazione è stata ricevuta dal Generale, il quale ha consegnato in iscritto la dichiarazione del movimento che tende ad una riparazione per la impedita comunicazione colla cittadella, per l'uccisione di tre militari Austriaci nel fatto del 7 corrente, per il fatto del Console Austriaco, e per la proclamata Repubblica.

Le pretese affacciate sono: 1. Cessione delle porte della città. 2. Consegna degli autori degli omicidii entro 24 ore. 3. Atterramento delle barricate. 4. Mantenimento delle truppe, che si dicono diecimila uomini, per tutta la loro permanenza che non viene limitata. 5. Consegna dell' Ospedale militare. 6. Pagamento di scudi dugentomila, più altri seimila per indennizzi al Console Austriaco entro 24 ore. 7. Innalzamento degli abbassati Stemmii Pontificii. 8. Sei ostaggi che dovranno servire di garanzia per tutte le condizioni.

Mentre mi occupo a chiarire meglio i fatti sui quali si fondano le pretese, e rispondere colla conveniente dignità alle enormi esigenze, ho combinato di inviare allo stesso Generale una Deputazione egualmente Governativo-Municipale, che avrà per compagno l'Eminentissimo Cardinale Arcivescovo, il quale del maggiore buon animo si è offerto di tutto fare per minorare il peso che ci aggrava.

Per mezzo straordinario vi comunico tutto ciò per intelligenza, non ommettendovi che per ora la città si conserva tranquilla.

Gradite li miei distinti saluti.

Il Preside,

(Firmato) MAYR CARLO.

Al Cittadino Preside di Bologna.

Il suddetto dispaccio si è ricevuto questa mattina, 19 Febbraio, 1849.

Il Preside,

(Firmato) C. BERTI PICHAT, Ten. Colonn.

(Translation.)

Roman Republic.

Province of Bologna.

THE following despatch is made public for the information of every one.

Citizens,

Ferrara, February 18, 1849.

My fears have too well been confirmed. This morning, after 7 o'clock, the Austrians passed the River Po in different places. As soon as I heard of this, I arranged to send a deputation on the part of the Government and of the town to the General in command, in order to have an explanation on the ingress of the said troops. The deputation on first meeting General Haynau, were told that they should be received in the plain before the fortress.

The troops entered about 12 o'clock, and soon after the deputation was received by the General, who delivered, in writing, a declaration, wherein he

states the cause of the movement, which is to obtain reparation for the communications having been interrupted with the citadel, for the death of three Austrian soldiers killed in the fray of the 7th instant, for the affair of the Austrian Consul, and in consequence of the proclamation of the Republic.

They have the effrontery to ask :—1. The delivering up the gates of the city. 2. Consigning the authors of the homicide within twenty-four hours. 3. The pulling down of the barricades. 4. The maintaining of the troops, said to be 10,000 men, during their whole stay, which is not limited to time. 5. The consigning over the military hospitals. 6. The payment of 200,000 scudi plus other 6000 as indemnification to the Austrian Consul, within twenty-four hours. 7. The raising of the Pontifical coat of arms, which has been put down. 8. Six hostages to serve as a guarantee for all these conditions.

While I am occupied in clearing up the facts on which these claims are based, and in answering with proper dignity to the exorbitant demand, I have settled to send to the said General a deputation also on the part of the Government of the town, which will be accompanied by the most eminent Cardinal Archbishop, who with his great goodness of heart has offered to do every thing he can in order to diminish the weight that oppresses us.

I communicate to you all this by an express for your information, and do not omit to add that as yet the town is quiet.

Accept, &c.

The Prefect,
(Signed) MAYR CARLO.

To the President of Bologna.

The above despatch has been received this morning, February 19, 1848.

The Prefect,
(Signed) C. BERTI PICHAT, *Lieut.-Col.*

No. 175.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 3.)

My Lord,

Turin, February 25, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to subjoin an account of the recent proceedings of the Austrians at Ferrara, which I have received from an authentic source.

On the 7th instant some disturbances took place in which an officer and several Austrian soldiers were killed or seriously injured, upon which the Governor of the citadel fired a few cannon-shot and Congreve rockets against the town, and threatened to bombard it unless the authors of the attack upon the Austrian soldiers were given up and the sum of 200,000 scudi (44,000*l.*) were paid as a fine.

Matters were in that state when the Ferrarese, having learnt the proclamation of the Republic at Rome, began to raise barricades and to take down the Pontifical arms. The Austrian Commandant then evacuated the military hospital situated in the town, and applied to General Haynau, who commands the Austrian corps stationed at Padua, for reinforcements and instructions.

On the 19th instant a force of between 6000 and 7000 Austrians appeared before Ferrara, and the following conditions were imposed upon the town under the threat of an immediate bombardment :

1. The payment of a sum of 200,000 scudi (44,000*l.*), for which hostages have been given and arrangements made.

2. An indemnity of 6000 scudi to the Austrian Consul, whose house had been pillaged in a previous disturbance, and which has already been paid.

3. The removal of the barricades and the restoration of the Pontifical arms, which was immediately carried into execution.

The town has not been occupied by the Austrian troops, who have only taken possession of the gates. No obstacles have however been placed in the way of the departure of such persons as might think themselves compromised by the share they took in the late disturbances.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

P.S.—I have much pleasure in being able to inform your Lordship that it was owing to the representations of Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Ferrara that the bombardment of the town did not take place. General Haynau, who com-

manded the expedition, had made all the necessary preparations, and the firing was about to begin at the expiration of the time which had been allowed for the execution of the conditions imposed by the Austrians, when a further delay of four hours was fortunately obtained, which enabled the authorities of Ferrara to comply with the demands of the Austrian General. R. A.

No. 176.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 3.)

My Lord,

Milan, February 25, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to state for your Lordship's information, that a recent event in this city has caused great excitement among all classes of the population.

The particulars are these:—Early in the morning of the 24th instant, a puppet about two feet in length was found hanging by the neck at the window of the house in the Contrada del Durino, where the engineer Ratti lives, the same who is at the head of the Commission under General Wohlgemuth, for carrying into execution the measures announced in Field-Marshal Radetzky's proclamation of the 11th November last. On this puppet was pinned a written inscription in Milanese, to this purport:—"This time only in effigy, another time in reality."

The porter of the house hearing a noise came out, and on finding the puppet hanging to the window proceeded to take it down, when he was hooted by some of the rabble, who went there from the vegetable market, which is at the end of the street.

In consequence of this insult to the engineer Ratti, his Excellency Field-Marshal Count Radetzky caused a circular to be issued yesterday from the Podestà to the proprietor of the houses in the Contrada del Durino, of which the following is a translation:

"A circumstance that occurred this morning in the Contrada del Durino, has forced his Excellency Field-Marshal Radetzky to adopt the following resolutions:—

"1. In the houses of the said street a whole battalion will be quartered.

"2. Every proprietor of the houses destined for the lodging of the troops must supply the same with food, to consist of bread, soup, meat, and wine.

"3. If within eight days from the date of the present notice the authors or accomplices of this revolutionary act are not delivered up, the respective proprietors of the same houses will have inflicted on the whole of them a fine of 100,000 Austrian livres (3,400L sterling nearly), besides which two other battalions will be quartered on them.

"The Municipality which, by a despatch from the Military Government of this city, is ordered to carry into execution, and to report immediately on the measures taken in this matter, finds itself under the disagreeable necessity of transmitting the present circular for your direction and rule.

(Signed)

PESTALOZZA, Podestà.

T. SCOTTI, Assessore.

SILVA, Secretary."

Although great excitement prevails throughout Milan the public peace has not been disturbed.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 177.

Prince Schwarzenberg to Count Colloredo.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by Count Colloredo, March 4.)

M. le Comte,

Vienne, le 25 Février, 1849.

LE mouvement révolutionnaire qui entraîne l'Italie Centrale vers sa perte embrasse également le Grand Duché de Toscane.

Le Grand Duc, à l'exemple de Pie IX, a dû se soustraire par la fuite aux
PART 4. Y

violences de ses oppresseurs, entre les mains desquels il n'était depuis long tems qu'un aveugle instrument. Il est à prévoir que les conspirateurs de Rome et ceux de la Toscane chercheront à s'unir par une solidarité étroite, et que leurs communs efforts tendront à mettre au néant les droits des Souverains légitimes de ces pays.

En face de ces éventualités, nous jugeons à propos de rappeler les rapports particuliers qui existent entre l'Autriche et la Toscane.

Par l'Article C de l'Acte Final du Congrès de Vienne, l'Archiduc Ferdinand d'Autriche a été rétabli tant pour lui que pour ses héritiers et successeurs, dans tous les droits de souveraineté et propriété sur le Grand Duché de Toscane et ses dépendances. Ont été également rétablies par cet Article, les stipulations de l'Article II du Traité de Vienne du 3 Octobre, 1735, entre l'Empereur Charles VI et le Roi de France, Louis XV, auxquelles accédèrent les autres Puissances, ainsi que les garanties résultant de ces stipulations.

Vous trouverez ci-près, M. le Comte, le texte du second des Articles préliminaires signés en 1735, auquel se réfère l'Article 100 de l'Acte du Congrès de Vienne.

Il ressort de ces stipulations que la France a garanti à la Maison de Lorraine la possession du Grand Duché de Toscane. En accédant aux Articles préliminaires de Vienne, les Rois d'Espagne, des Deux Siciles, de Sardaigne, et enfin le Corps Germanique, ont participé aux engagements contractés par la France.

Par l'Article V du Traité de Vienne du 28 Août, 1736, dont le texte se trouve également ci-joint, la France a renoué, de la manière la plus solennelle, la garantie donnée à la Maison de Lorraine.

François I, Empereur d'Allemagne, érigea en 1763 le Grand Duché de Toscane, échu à sa maison pour l'indemniser de la cession de l'héritage de ses ancêtres, en secondo-géniture de la dynastie actuellement régnant en Autriche. Aux termes de l'acte de fondation de François I, la Toscane, à l'extinction de la branche cadette, est réversible à la branche aînée de cette dynastie.

Ces données suffisent pour démontrer que l'Autriche a le droit positif et incontestable de s'opposer par tous les moyens qu'elle jugera convenables, à tout acte tendant à déposséder la Maison de Habsbourg-Lorraine des droits de souveraineté qu'elle exerce dans le Grand Duché de Toscane en vertu d'anciens traités pleinement confirmés par l'Acte Final du Congrès de Vienne.

En présence de ce qui se passe actuellement en Toscane il est de notre devoir de faire expressément nos réserves en faveur des droits de l'Autriche et des moyens de les faire valoir.

C'est à cette fin que je vous charge, M. le Comte, de communiquer cette dépêche à M. le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) F. SCHWARZENBERG.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte,

Vienna, February 25, 1849.

THE Revolutionary movement which is dragging Central Italy to its ruin extends likewise to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.

The Grand Duke, following the example of Pius IX, has been obliged to save himself by flight from the violence of his oppressors, in whose hands he was for a long time past merely a blind instrument. It is to be expected that the conspirators of Rome and those of Tuscany will seek to unite themselves together by the closest bands, and that their common efforts will be directed to the annihilation of the rights of the legitimate Sovereigns of those countries.

In the face of these contingencies we think it fitting to recall to mind the peculiar relations which exist between Austria and Tuscany.

By the 100th Article of the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria was restored, himself, his heirs and successors, to all the rights of sovereignty and possession over the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and its dependencies. By that Article were also re-established the stipulations of Article II of the Treaty of Vienna of the 3rd of October, 1735, between the Emperor Charles VI and the King of France, Louis XV, to which the other Powers acceded, and likewise the guarantees resulting from those stipulations.

You will find hereunto annexed, M. le Comte, the text of the 2nd of the Preliminary Articles signed in 1735, to which the 100th Article of the Act of the Congress of Vienna refers.

It results from these stipulations that France has guaranteed to the House of Lorraine the possession of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. By acceding to the Preliminary Articles of Vienna, the Kings of Spain, the Two Sicilies, Sardinia, and finally, the Germanic Body, became parties to the engagements contracted by France.

By Article V of the Treaty of Vienna of the 28th of August, 1736, the text of which is also hereunto annexed, France renewed in the most solemn manner the guarantee given to the House of Lorraine.

Francis I, Emperor of Germany, entailed in 1763 the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, which had accrued to his House in indemnification of the cession by him of the inheritance of his ancestors, upon the second branch of the present reigning family of Austria. By the terms of the Act of Foundation of Francis I, Tuscany, on the failure of the younger branch, would revert to the elder branch of that dynasty.

These facts suffice to show that Austria has the positive and undeniable right to oppose by every means which she shall consider expedient, any act tending to deprive the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine of the rights of sovereignty which it exercises in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in virtue of ancient treaties fully confirmed by the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna.

In presence of what is now passing in Tuscany it is our duty expressly to declare our reservations in favour of the rights of Austria and of the means of enforcing them.

It is with this view that I have to instruct you, M. le Comte, to communicate this despatch to the Principal Secretary of State.

Accept, &c.

(Signed) F. SCHWARZENBERG.

Inclosure I in No. 177.

Articles Préliminaires signés à Vienne entre l'Empereur Charles VI et le Roi Louis XV, le 3 Octobre, 1735.

ARTICLE II.

LE Grand Duché de Toscane, après la mort du présent possesseur, appartiendra à la Maison de Lorraine, pour l'indemniser des duchés qu'elle possède aujourd'hui.

Toutes les Puissances qui prendront part à la pacification lui engageront la succession éventuelle, &c.

(Translation.)

Preliminary Articles signed at Vienna between the Emperor Charles VI and King Louis XV, October 3, 1735.

ARTICLE II.

THE Grand Duchy of Tuscany, after the death of the present possessor, shall appertain to the House of Lorraine, to indemnify it for the duchies which that House now possesses.

All the Powers which shall take part in the pacification shall guarantee to it the eventual succession, &c.

Inclosure 2 in No. 177.

*Convention conclue à Vienne entre l'Empereur Charles VI et le Roi Louis XV,
le 28 Août, 1736.*

ARTICLE V.

RIEN n'étant plus juste que de procurer à la Maison de Lorraine une entière sûreté à l'égard de ce qui est destiné pour l'indemniser du grand sacrifice qu'elle fait d'abandonner son ancien patrimoine, il a été convenu par le 2nd Article des Préliminaires signés le 3 Octobre, 1735, que toutes les Puissances qui prendront part à la pacification, lui en garantiront la succession éventuelle; en conséquence de quoi Sa Majesté Très Catholique renouvelle pour elle et pour ses successeurs, dans la meilleure forme, la garantie susdite, tant en faveur de Son Altesse Apostolique le Duc de Lorraine, que de toutes les personnes qui auriennent eu droit de succéder dans les Duchés de Lorraine et de Bar. Enfin Sa Majesté Très Catholique promet de prendre de concert avec Sa Majesté Impériale, les mesures les plus convenables et les plus efficaces pour faire garantir à la Maison de Lorraine la succession en Toscane par ces Puissances qui ont garanti à la dite sérénissime maison, par le Traité de Ryswick, les États qu'elle possède aujourd'hui, sans que, par la présente clause, la prise de possession de la Lorraine puisse être retardée au-delà du terme marqué dans le 1er Article de la présente Convention; Sa Majesté Impériale s'engageant réciproquement d'agir de concert avec Sa Majesté Très Catholique, pour procurer les mêmes garanties de la possession de la Lorraine et du Barrois par le Roi Stanislas, et de la réunion des dits duchés à la Couronne de France après le décès de ce Prince.

(Translation.)

Convention concluded at Vienna between the Emperor Charles VI and King Louis XV, August 28, 1736.

ARTICLE V.

NOTHING being more just than to procure for the House of Lorraine a complete security with respect to what is destined for it in indemnification of the great sacrifice which it is making in giving up its ancient patrimony, it was agreed by the 11th Article of the Preliminaries signed on the 3rd of October, 1735, that all the Powers which shall take part in the pacification shall guarantee to it the eventual succession therein; in consequence of which His Most Catholic Majesty renews for himself and for his successors, in the most effectual form, the above-named guarantee, as well in favour of His Apostolical Highness the Duke of Lorraine, as in that of all persons who would have had the right of succession to the Duchies of Lorraine and Bar. Finally, His Most Catholic Majesty promises to adopt, in concert with His Imperial Majesty, the measures most suited and best calculated for causing the succession in Tuscany to be guaranteed to the House of Lorraine by those Powers which by the Treaty of Ryswick have guaranteed to the said most Serene House the States which it now possesses, without enabling, by the present clause, the entry into possession of Lorraine to be deferred beyond the term specified in the 1st Article of the present Convention; His Imperial Majesty reciprocally engaging to act in concert with His Most Catholic Majesty, in order to procure the same guarantees for the possession of Lorraine and of Bar by King Stanislaus, and for the union of the said Duchies to the Crown of France after the decease of that Prince.

No. 178.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 4.)

My Lord,

Vienna, February 26, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit for your Lordship's information the translation of a statement which was published in the official gazette of yesterday, respecting the entrance of a body of Austrian troops into the town of Ferrara.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSOMBY.

Inclosure in No. 178.

Extract from the Vienna Gazette of February 25, 1849.

(Translation.)

THE public prints have already related that on the 6th of this month several officers belonging to the Imperial Austrian garrison of Ferrara were insulted and pelted with stones by crowds of people, as they were quietly going through the town to the garrison hospital.

The same shameful exhibition was renewed on the following day, and the people, grown bolder and armed, could only be restrained by force. On this occasion one officer was wounded by a musket-shot; and at the same time in another part of the town three Imperial soldiers returning from the hospital to the citadel, were so severely ill-treated by the mob that all three died shortly after.

On the same day three cavalry orderlies who had been sent with letters from the Citadel to St. Maria Maddalena, were stopped by the Roman militia at Ponte Lagoscuro, as they were about to cross the Po, disarmed, ill-treated, and imprisoned.

In the same manner an officer of the baggage train, coming from Ferrara with three waggons, was in a hostile manner stopped and prevented from crossing the Po; so that by these acts of violence the communications between the Imperial garrison in Ferrara and this bank of the Po was cut off.

All these disgraceful attacks were so many violations of the agreement entered into on the 14th of July, 1848, between the Imperial General Prince Lichtenstein and the Pro-Legate of Ferrara, in order to place the Austrian garrison in safety.

But this is not the only breach of faith of which the city of Ferrara has been guilty. Even a few months ago the Imperial arms were torn down from the bouse of the Austrian Consul Bertuzzi, and insulted, the Consul himself ill treated to such a degree that he was barely able to escape with life from his dwelling. Upon this the bouse of the Consul was under the eyes of the authorities of Ferrara abandoned to total destruction and pillage.

It being impossible to obtain any satisfaction from the Roman authorities for this series of acts in violation of the laws of nations, Marshal Radetzky considered that the measure of crime was now full, and that it was necessary by inflicting an exemplary punishment on the city of Ferrara, to enforce observance of the treaties, respect for the law of nations, and security for our garrison, whose safety was endangered by murder and treachery.

For this purpose a brigade of Imperial troops under the command of Major-General Count Coronini crossed the Po on the 18th instant, entered Ferrara without resistance at 1 p. m., and encamped on the glacis of the citadel.

A deputation from the town, which waited on Lieutenant-General von Haynau, commanding the 2nd reserve corps, was informed by him of the cause and object of his arrival, and was presented with a proclamation in which our grievances were enumerated, and the satisfaction to be given for them by the town clearly laid down.

The principal points of the demands were :

1. Surrender of the persons concerned in the murder of the three Imperial soldiers.
2. The delivery of six hostages as security for the fulfilment of the conditions now laid down.
3. Removal of the barricades erected against the citadel.
4. Restoration throughout the town of the arms which had been torn down of its rightful Sovereign His Holiness the Pope.
5. Payment of a fine of 200,000 scudi, 6000 of which were to be an indemnification to the Imperial Consul Bertuzzi, for the total loss of his property.
6. Maintenance of all the conditions laid down in former conventions.

All these demands were to be complied with within twenty-four hours, otherwise the town would be bombarded.

Before the expiration of the appointed time the above-mentioned deputation, accompanied by the Cardinal Archbishop and the English Consul, again appeared

to beg for an extension of the time given to collect the money for the fine, which was granted, and prolonged to 4 p. m. of the 19th instant.

At this hour the money was paid. On the morning of the 20th, Lieutenant-General Haynau having convinced himself that the barricades were removed, the Papal arms restored, and hostages having been given, he concluded a convention with the Municipal authorities (in the absence of any other legal authority), the separate conditions of which provided for the requisite security and freedom of circulation for the Imperial garrison, and the safe conveyance of the sick soldiers to the frontier, inasmuch as it did not appear advisable after the occurrence of the murderous attacks upon single soldiers, to leave the sick in the hospital, which is situated in the town.

As to the perfect order and discipline observed by the Imperial troops employed in this expedition there is but one opinion.

The end of this expedition having been thus attained, Lieutenant-General Haynau retired with his whole brigade, and arrived at Polesello again by the evening of the 20th.

This faithful narrative of the facts will suffice to determine the opinion of every impartial person with respect to an event which, considering the existing state of things and tendencies in Italy, will probably furnish matter for all sorts of violent and groundless attacks.

No. 179.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 4.)

My Lord,

Vienna, February 26, 1849.

I THIS morning received a letter from Sir Henry Ellis at Brussels, which gave me grounds upon which I could renew my assertions of the dangers which attended the delay of the nomination of a Plenipotentiary to attend the mediation. I also learned from M. de Gabriac much on the subject of the feelings of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. de Gabriac having come from Paris through Brussels.

I have taken measures which I think the best to make Prince Schwarzenberg comprehend and feel the bad policy of the conduct he has hitherto pursued in that affair. I have not seen him yet in consequence of his being engaged in Council, but I shall I trust find him at 5 o'clock, when he may be at liberty to receive me, but when it will be too late for me to write to your Lordship.

I hope the Austrian Government may see that the measures at present adopted are too likely to cause such complications of affairs as will lead to a war, in which it is impossible the Austrians can suppose that they will not incur danger of serious disasters. I will report fully to your Lordship by the first opportunity upon this subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 180.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 5.)

My Lord,

Vienna, February 28, 1849.

I HAD a long conversation this morning with Prince Schwarzenberg. I will report by the messenger the state of the affair of the mission of a Plenipotentiary to Brussels. I will now venture to say that I hope for a favourable result.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 181.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 5.)

(Extract.)

Milan, February 26, 1849.

THE petition from the Austrian army in Italy to the Emperor Francis Joseph I, having been published in the official Milan Gazette of the 23rd instant, I do myself the honour to inclose herewith a translation of the same for your Lordship's information.

Inclosure in No 181.

Petition from the Army in Italy to the Emperor of Austria.

(Translation.)

May it please your Majesty,

WE the Undersigned, your humble subjects, have ascertained that a proposition presented by the Deputy Zbyszewski, and amended by the Deputy Strobach, passed by a majority of votes in the constituted Parliament, praying your Majesty to order the election of Deputies for the citizens of the State serving in the army.

In every constitutional State there are two powers, the legislative and the executive, which can never be united. The army, as an integral part of the executive power, can never therefore take any share in the legislative.

The soldier can as an individual sit in Parliament as well as any other person, not however as a representative of the army as a body, since it is evident that a number of Deputies, who might close their propositions by these powerful words: "A numerous army supports our opinion," would soon put an end to the freedom of discussion.

Faithful to the laws of its country the army acknowledges only in your Majesty its lord and leader; it cannot take nor will it ever take part in any discussion which might place it in contradiction with its duties and undermine its honour.

The army will shed the last drop of its blood in defence of the institutions which your Majesty may grant to the monarchy in unison with the Representatives; but in its ranks it acknowledges no difference of nationality; bound by sentiments of obedience, concord and brotherly love, it finds in your Majesty the concentration of all its duties, of its glory, of its honour.

But why does the Parliament bring forward at the present moment a proposition so much in contradiction with principles formerly promulgated in this high assembly? The Undersigned would wish to bury in silence and oblivion the mournful remembrance of the past, but the question naturally arises, why do the same Deputies now contend for the rights of an united army, who last September opposed the proposition of the noble Seelinger, indulging at the same time in the most violent and offensive expressions against the army!

When Varro lost on the battle-field at Cannæ not only the victory but 80,000 Roman combatants, and returned hastily to Rome, the Senate in a body went to meet the conquered Consul at the gates of the city and to thank him that he had not despaired of his country's safety.

Thus a great free State thought and acted; but the Diet of Vienna had only sympathy for our enemies, not a word of approbation for a victorious army struggling with manifold hardships, not a word of sorrow for those who fell, not a word of comfort for those who survived.

The army was silent, but felt deeply the disheartening affront. The Parliament, insensible to the honour of the country, and indifferent to its preservation, had lost the confidence of the army.

No, your Majesty! the army does not seek to take part in Parliamentary debates; you would soon perceive in it a want of harmony and want of discipline, you would perceive the ruin of the monarchy. The army seeks to encircle your Majesty's throne, the confines of the monarchy, with an iron bulwark; it seeks to watch over the laws of the country, to protect the monarchy against

domestic as well as to preserve its integrity against foreign enemies ; but it seeks to remain within the limits of its position which the legislatures of all nations assign to the army.

With profound respect we pray that your Majesty will not grant the sovereign sanction to the said parliamentary proposition.

(Signed by the superior and other officers, and afterwards by non-commissioned officers and privates of the whole army.)

No. 182.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 5.)

(Extract.)

Florence, February 23, 1849.

LIEUTENANT ROBERTS, commanding Her Majesty's steam-vessel "Porcupine," has arrived here to-day from Porto Santo Stefano, and brings me information that the Grand Duke of Tuscany with his family have gone in Her Majesty's steam-vessel "Bulldog" to Gaeta.

No. 183.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 5.)

(Extract.)

Florence, February 23, 1849.

I RECEIVED information yesterday that the Austrian troops had evacuated Ferrara and recrossed the Po, having levied on that town the large sum of 200,000 dollars.

An attempt at reaction in favour of the Grand Duke was made on the evening of the 21st instant by the country-people of this neighbourhood and of the surrounding districts. The civic guard in Florence and other towns opposed them. The attempt failed. Some few peasants were shot at Prato.

M. Guerrazzi left Florence yesterday to place himself at the head of the troops that are ordered to march against General Laugier.

The latter has been declared a traitor. A price of 1000 lire, about 800 francs, has been set on his head.

The General still holds his position at Massa, and is probably expecting the assistance of the Sardinian troops.

Martial law has been proclaimed in Florence to-day.

No. 184.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 6.)

(Extract.)

Venice, February 26, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of the Venetian Gazette, containing the report made by the Signor Manin to the Assembly of Representatives on the foreign relations of the Venetian Provisional Government, and publishing a letter addressed by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Bastide, to the Provisional Government of Venice, dated August 19, 1848.

Inclosure in No. 184.

Report of M. Manin to the Assembly of Representatives on the Foreign Relations of the Venetian Provisional Government.

Cittadini Rappresentanti,

APPENA assunti il Governo nell' 11 Agosto, l'illustre cittadino Nicolò Tommaseo acconsentiva di partire per Parigi nella medesima notte, accettando il mandato di rappresentare il popolo di Venezia presso la Repubblica Francese, e

di chiedere l'intervento armato di quella generosa nazione a favore della indipendenza Italiana.

Nella sessione del successivo di 13, l'Assemblea dei deputati di questa provincia approvava e ratificava, a nome del popolo, di cui era mandataria, tanto la domanda d'intervento Francese, spedita nel 4 Agosto dal precedente Governo, quanto la missione di Nicolò Tommaseo; e il nuovo Governo, in quella sessione nominato, obbediva tosto all'ordine ricevuto dalla stessa Assemblea, di far sapere alla Francia che que' reiterati inviti erano inviti del popolo della Venezia.

Il cittadino Tommaseo vi farà egli stesso il rapporto della propria missione.

Avuta pochi giorni dopo notizia che i Plenipotenziarii Inglese e Francese residenti in Torino, avevano offerta la mediazione comune dei loro Governi alle parti belligeranti, ci siamo affrettati di rivolgerci ai medesimi; e con nota del 21 Agosto li abbiamo supplicati a voler interporre i loro uffici onde ottenere che anche per Venezia si verificasse il fatto della sospensione delle ostilità, sin tanto che avessero effetto le pratiche della pacificazione d'Italia, assunte dalle prefate alte Potenze.

I Ministri Inglese e Francese, colle note del 27 e 21 dello stesso mese, ci dichiararono che, l'armistizio essendo di già un fatto compiuto, non potevano farvi introdurre alcuna innovazione; e manifestando, con espressioni benivoie, la dispiacenza loro di non poter secondare i nostri desiderii, ci assicuravano di portare immediatamente a cognizione dei rispettivi Governi la domanda che avevamo loro diretta.

A queste nostre prime mosse si associarono gli atti dell'onorevole nostro rappresentante a Parigi e alcun tempo appresso abbiamo saputo che l'Inghilterra e la Francia si erano interposte presso l'Austria onde Venezia non fosse assalita durante la mediazione; e al cadere di Ottobre, contemporaneamente all'arrivo della flotta Sarda nelle nostre acque, abbiamo avuto la comunicazione ufficiale che alcuni legni Francesi tornavano nel nostro golfo, con ordine di tenere sbloccata Venezia anche coll'uso della forza.

Siccome però l'Austria non aveva mai dichiarato di sospendere le ostilità contro di noi, e, se pure le era impedito di nuocerci per la via di mare, poteva sempre attaccarci dal lato di terra, così noi non abbiamo mai diminuiti i presidii dei nostri forti, anzi ci siamo sempre studiati di aumentarne e renderne ognora più formidabile la difesa.

Vi abbiamo detto che il Governo del Luglio aveva pure nel 4 Agosto chiesto l'intervento armata della Francia. A quella prima domanda fece risposta il già Ministro degli Affari Esteri, Signor Bastide, con dispaccio del 12 Agosto, a noi pervenuto soltanto il dì 15 del successivo Settembre.

Stimiamo opportuno che ne conosciate il tenore:

“ Messieurs,

Paris, le 19 Août, 1848.

“ J'ai reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 4 de ce mois pour demander, au nom du Gouvernement et du peuple de Venise, l'assistance militaire de la France.

“ La République Française, comme vous le reconnaissez vous-même, ne s'est pas seulement montrée, dès le principe, disposée à marcher au secours de l'Italie: elle s'y préparait encore activement par la réunion d'une armée sur la frontière des Alpes. Exercée en temps utile, cette intervention pouvait facilement assurer l'indépendance de la Péninsule. Mais l'éloignement bien connu que les Italiens eux-mêmes ont manifesté relativement à l'appui des armes de la France, n'a pas permis de la leur accorder; nous ne pouvions pas les secourir en quelque sorte malgré eux. Aujourd'hui que les circonstances, en devenant plus faibles pour l'Italie, ont créé, sous tous les rapports, une situation plus grave, la France ne répudie rien de la sollicitude que lui inspirait la cause Italienne, ni des déclarations émanées de la représentation nationale en faveur de cette noble cause. Les dispositions n'ont pas changé; mais d'un autre côté, Messieurs, la France a le droit, et c'est en même temps un devoir pour elle, de consulter aussi ses propres intérêts et de prendre également en considération ceux de la paix générale. Dès-lors elle a jugé convenable et nécessaire de consacrer, avant tout, ses efforts à préparer une solution pacifique, et c'est dans cet esprit ainsi que dans ce but, que, de concert avec l'Angleterre, elle a proposé à l'Empereur d'Autriche et au Roi de Sardaigne une médiation amicale. Des négociations sont entamées: il convient d'en attendre le résultat. Dans tous

les cas vous ne sauriez douter des vives sympathies de la France et de son Gouvernement pour le pays dont l'administration vous est confiée, et vous ne devez pas être moins convaincus de notre intention de lui prêter activement et loyalement tout l'appui qui dépendra de nous.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) JULES BASTIDE.

“Messieurs les Membres du Gouvernement Provisoire de Venise.”

Avuta nella seconda metà di Agosto, come dicemmo, la notizia che all' intervento armato erasi sostituita la mediazione pacifica, e che a mandarla ad effetto avrebbero avuto luogo delle conferenze diplomatiche, ci siamo fatti dovere di dar tosto apposite credenziali ad un nostro concittadino, affinché i dritti e gli interessi del nostro paese fossero rappresentati alle conferenze medesime.

Il mandato lo abbiamo conferito al distinto giureconsulto e pubblicista Valentino Pasini, il quale sino dallo scorso Settembre si è recato a Parigi a prendere preliminari cognizioni sullo stato politico dell' affare, e ad attendere che fosse designato il luogo ed il tempo in cui si sarebbero aperte le trattative. Scelta Brusselles a sede delle conferenze, e avendo poscia il Governo dovuto accondere, con vivo rincrescimento, alle reiterate richieste del cittadino Tommaseo di essere dispensato dall' incarico che con tanto decoro ed utile nostro egli sosteneva a Parigi, abbiamo impartito allo stesso Pasini anche il mandato di rappresentare Venezia presso la Repubblica Francese.

Ameremmo potervi informare dell' andamento della missione principale affidata al cittadino Pasini; ma nè i fatti che la concernono sono abbastanza lucidi, nè le trattative sono ancora avviate in maniera da permettere al Governo presente di tenervene parola, senza pregiudizio, in pubblica sessione.

Le nostre relazioni coi Governi di Torino, di Firenze e di Roma hanno sempre conservato il carattere di una fraterno corrispondenza. Fedeli al nostro programma del 13 Agosto, di occuparci soltanto della quiete interna e della difesa esteriore; di essere un Governo Provvisorio in tutta la estensione del termine; di assoggettare all' Assemblée, quando muteranno le cose, la decisione della sorte futura di Venezia, della forma di Governo che dovrà adottare, a quale degli Stati Italiani dovrà appartenere; di governare, cioè, senz' altro colore politico che quello di respingere l' inimico; e di essere, in una parola, un Governo di conservazione e non altro; programma che fu applaudito e acconsentito dall' Assemblée, prima che ci fosse conferito il supremo potere; noi non potevamo entrare cogli Stati Italiani in rapporti, che si allontanassero dal programma medesimo, nel quale dovevamo riguardare come formulati i nostri dritti e i nostri doveri.

Sapevamo che le nostre relazioni col Regno Sardo divenivano, in seguito all' 11 Agosto, estremamente difficili e delicate; ma, senza ledere l' autonomia del paese, abbiamo lealmente e francamente esposto al Gabinetto di Sua Maestà il Re di Sardegna, con nota del successivo di 20, le condizioni sotto le quali avevamo assunto il potere; e le corrispondenze mantenute coll' organo del Ministro degli Affari Esteri di quel Governo furono sempre improntate di affetto e d' indipendenza.

Ai nostri Incaricati d' Affari presso i Governi di Roma e di Toscana abbiamo prescritto di serbarsi neutrali in tutte le quistioni che si riferivano all' ordinamento interiore e all' esercizio dei poteri sovrani in quegli Stati; ma di conservare coi depositari dell' autorità i migliori rapporti, onde agire di concerto pel conseguimento del comune riscatto; e soprattutto per procurare a Venezia quegli aiuti che nell' interesse di tutta l' Italia ha diritto di chiedere.

Cittadini rappresentanti! Abbiamo il conforto di dirvi che la nostra condotta ci ha procurato le simpatie, l' amicizia e la stima, tanto dei popoli che dei Governi; e che rimane, nel pieno e libero vostro dominio, impregiudicato per nostra parte l' avvenire politico di Venezia.

Forse ad altre durissime prove la Provvidenza sottopone la nostra nazione; ma noi potiamo fermissima fede che, se vorrete continuare in una politica di prudente aspettazione e di coscienzioso riserbo, conserverete Venezia a sè stessa e all' Italia.

(Translation.)

Representative Citizens,

WE had hardly assumed the Government on the 11th August, when the illustrious citizen Nicolo Tommaseo consented to depart for Paris the same night, accepting the mission of representing the Venetian people with the French Republic, and to ask for the armed intervention of that generous nation in favour of Italian independence.

In the sitting of the next day (the 13th), the Assembly of the Deputies of this province approved and ratified in the name of the people whom it represented, as well the request of French intervention sent the 4th August by the preceding Government, as the mission of Nicolo Tommaseo; and the new Government appointed in that session obeyed immediately the orders of the Assembly in making known to France that such reiterated invitations were those of the people of Venice.

The citizen Tommaseo will himself make his report to you on his mission.

Having heard a few days afterwards that the English and French Plenipotentiaries residing in Turin had offered the united mediation of their Governments to the belligerent Powers, we hastened to address ourselves to the same; and by a note of the 21st August we begged them to interpose their good offices in order to obtain also for Venice the suspension of hostilities until the pacification of Italy could be effected which had been undertaken by the aforesaid High Powers.

The English and French Ministers by their notes of the 21st and 27th of the same month, declared to us that the Armistice having been already concluded they could not introduce any innovations; and evincing with benevolent expressions their regret at not being able to second our desire, they assured us that they would inform their respective Governments of the request we had made to them.

To these our first steps were joined the acts of our honourable Representative in Paris, and a little later we heard that England and France had intervened in order that Venice should not be attacked by Austria during the mediation; and towards the end of October, at the same time as when the Sardinian fleet arrived in our waters, we had the official information that some French men-of-war were cruising in our gulf, with orders to hold Venice free from blockade, even if it were requisite to have recourse to force to do so. But as Austria had never declared that it had suspended hostilities against us, and even if she were prevented from injuring us by sea, she could always attack us by land; we have never diminished the garrisons in our forts, but on the contrary we have ever studied how to augment them, and render our defence more formidable than ever.

We have told you that the July Government had also on the 4th August asked for the armed intervention of France. To this first request Signor Bontade, then Minister for Foreign Affairs, answered by a despatch dated 12th August, which reached us only on the 15th of the following September.

We consider it opportune that you should know the tenor of it.

"Gentlemen,

Paris, August 19, 1848.

I HAVE received the letter you did me the honour to address to me on the 4th of this month in order to request in the name of the Government and of the people of Venice the military assistance of France.

The French Republic, as you know, has shown itself from the beginning not merely disposed to come to the assistance of Italy, but she even prepared to do so effectually by assembling an army on the frontiers of the Alps. Used in proper time this intervention might easily have insured the independence of the Peninsula. But the well-known reluctance which the Italians themselves manifested with regard to the support of French arms did not admit of its being afforded to them, and we could not assist them in spite of ourselves. Now that circumstances by becoming more serious for Italy in some way have made its situation more critical, France in no wise renounces the solicitude that the Italian cause inspired it with, nor the declarations expressed by the Representatives of the nation in favour of this noble cause. The inclination has

not changed; but on the other side, gentlemen, France has the right, and it is at the same time a duty she owes to herself, to consult her own interests, and also to take into consideration those of the general peace. Therefore she has judged right and necessary before all things to employ her efforts in order to attain a pacific solution, and it is with this intent and to this end that, in concert with England, she has proposed to the Emperor of Austria and to the King of Sardinia a friendly mediation. Negotiations have been opened; it is necessary to await the result thereof. In every case you must not doubt of the lively sympathy of France and of its Government for that country the administration of which is confided to you; and you should be equally convinced of our intention of affording it actively and sincerely all the support that we can.

Accept, &c.

(Signed) JULES BASTIDE.

"To the Members of the Provisional Government of Venice."

Having heard, as we have said, in the latter part of August, that for a pacific mediation had been substituted the armed intervention, and that to carry it into effect there would be diplomatic conferences, we considered it our duty to give immediate credentials to one of our fellow-citizens, in order that the rights and interests of our country should be represented in the said conferences. This mission we conferred on the distinguished lawyer and publicist, Valentine Pisani, who after last September went to Paris to take preliminary cognizance of the political state of the affair, and to wait until the place and time should be fixed in which the treaties were to be opened. Brussels was chosen as the seat of the conferences; and afterwards the Government being obliged to accede with great sorrow to the reiterated desires of citizen Tommaseo to be exempted from the charge which he held in Paris with so much honour and so much to our advantage, we conferred on the same Pisani also the mission of representing Venice at the French Republic.

We would desire to inform you of the course which the principal mission entrusted to citizen Pisani took, but neither are the facts regarding it sufficiently clear, nor are the treaties yet advanced to permit the present Government to expose them without prejudice at a public session.

Our relations with the Governments of Turin, of Florence, and of Rome, have always kept up the character of a fraternal connexion. Faithful to our programme of the 13th August, of occupying ourselves solely with internal quiet and external defence; to be a Provisional Government in the true force of the term; to leave to the Assembly when things changed the decision regarding the future fate of Venice, the form of Government that it should adopt, and to which of the Italian States it shall belong; to govern, that is to say, without any other political feeling than that of repulsing the enemy; and to be, in one word, a Conservative Government, and nothing else; a programme which was applauded and agreed to by the Assembly before that the supreme power had been conferred upon us. We could not enter in communication with the Italian States that kept aloof from the said programme, in which we should consider our rights and our duties as defined.

We knew that our relations with the Sardinian Government, after the 11th August, became extremely difficult and delicate, but without prejudice to the independence of the country, we have loyally and frankly exposed to the Cabinet of His Majesty the King of Sardinia, with the note of the next day the 20th, the conditions under which we had assumed the Government; and the correspondence kept with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of that Government have ever been characterized by good-will and independence.

We ordered our Chargé d'Affaires at the Governments of Rome and of Tuscany to maintain a neutrality in all the questions that referred to internal institutions and to the exercise of the sovereign powers of those States; but to keep up the best relations with those in charge of authority, in order to act in concert with them for the forwarding of the general safety, and above all to procure for Venice that assistance in the interests of Italy she has a right to demand.

Representative citizens, we are happy to say that our conduct has obtained for us the sympathy, the friendship and the esteem both of the people and of the Governments, and that the political future of Venice remain uninjured by us in your full and absolute power.

Perhaps Providence dooms our nation to other hard trials, but we have a firm hope that if you will continue to persevere in a system of prudent waiting and conscientious reserve, you will preserve Venice to itself and to Italy.

No. 185.

Mr. Buchanan to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 7.)

(Extract.)

St. Petersburg, February 24, 1849.

I HAVE spoken to Count Nesselrode on the subject of the proposal of the Neapolitan Government, that a Congress should meet at Naples, composed of the Representatives of the Catholic Powers and those of England, Prussia and Russia, for the purpose of devising the best means of arranging the differences which have arisen between the Pope and his subjects, and of re-establishing the authority of His Holiness at Rome.

The Chancellor informed me that the Russian Government had declined acceding to this proposal.

No. 186.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 7.)

My Lord,

Vienna, February 28, 1849.

I HAD a conversation this morning with Prince Schwarzenberg and I read to him your Lordship's instructions of the 23rd instant, which gave him much satisfaction. We discussed at considerable length the question of the mission of an Austrian Plenipotentiary to Brussels, and I think that the mission of Count Colloredo is likely to take place in a very short time. I directed Prince Schwarzenberg's attention particularly to what Count Colloredo in his despatch (which the Prince showed me) had reported your Lordship to have said to him in your conversation upon the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) POÏNSONBY.

No. 187.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 7.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, March 2, 1849.

I REPORTED in my despatch of the 28th of February my opinion that Count Colloredo would be ere long appointed Plenipotentiary at Brussels, and my opinion was confirmed yesterday by what passed in conversation between Prince Schwarzenberg and myself. It was evident to me that he was satisfied with what you had said to Count Colloredo and that he desired only to delay some little the execution of what he intended to do. I myself entertain no doubt of the intention of the Prince Schwarzenberg to content himself with what you said on the subject of the treatment of the affairs of concession of territory to Count Colloredo, which, as I understood the statement of it, amounted to an indication that the point would not be insisted upon in any way that should make it appear that the Austrians entered into the Conference with the slightest intention of yielding upon that point. I will repeat here, though it is not necessary to do so, that I have often submitted to your Lordship as an indubitable fact, that the Austrians will not concede anything with respect to territory, that they are ready to risk any attack from anybody rather than to do so, and that to attempt to carry any such thing by force is to make a war.

But I see a probability that events may make the Conference useless or inapplicable for present circumstances.

No. 188.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 8.)

My Lord,

Milan, March 1, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit for your Lordship's information the following translation of a proclamation from his Excellency Field-Marshal Radetzky that was issued yesterday.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

Proclamation of Marshal Radetzky.

Milan, February 28, 1849.

IN order to carry into execution the proclamation of the 11th November last, together with the successive explanatory declarations and the proclamation of the 30th December following, and whilst in the meantime proceedings are taken against those already summoned to pay their respective quota for the extraordinary contribution of war, of which they never were and never shall be exempted, although they have hitherto delayed paying their allotted quota, and reserving to myself the right to act in like manner against those who on being afterwards summoned shall not comply with the intimation as set forth in the above-mentioned proclamation of the 11th November last, I do hereby make known:—

That two special Military Commissions are formed, one for the Lombard, the other for the Venetian Provinces, presided over by Imperial and Royal Generals, who are charged with the execution of the summonses and sequestrations, and with giving such orders and adopting such efficient measures as may be required in a political and military point of view (*in via politico-militare*).

That whatever shall be ordered by them must be executed and attended to impartially;

That the engineers elected by the said Commissions as trustees are bound to accept this office under heavy punishment in case of refusal, unless they be dispensed with on just grounds;

That whoever may throw obstacles in the operations of the trustees or insult them, shall be dealt with according to martial law;

That of any plots whatever against the execution of the ordered sequestrations, the inhabitants of the place where such may be perpetrated shall be held responsible, unless they have by every means endeavoured to prevent them, and unless the authors thereof have been immediately denounced to the authorities and punished accordingly;

That whoever are or may be debtors for whatever title or cause towards those subject to the contribution, are hereby warned to continue the payment of their debts during the sequestration only into the hands of the trustees, under the penalty of paying double;

And that all military commandants and all civil authorities are bound to afford the trustees whatever assistance they may require.

(Signed) RADETSKY, *Field-Marshal*.

No. 189.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 9.)

My Lord,

Florence, February 27, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that General Laugier and the Tuscan forces under his command, on hearing of the Grand Duke's departure from Tuscany, have capitulated. The capitulation has been accepted by the Provisional Government, excepting as far as regards the General himself, who, if taken, was to be tried by a military commission at Lucca. I am happy to inform your Lordship that General Laugier has escaped into Piedmont.

The Provisional Government of Tuscany is in a very different position now from what it was in when last I had the honour of addressing your Lordship. The Government was then menaced by foreign invasion, by civil war and reactionary movements in the provinces. All fear of invasion from Sardinia has vanished. The Austrians have withdrawn from Ferrara. All chances of civil war have disappeared, and the attempts at reaction in favour of the Grand Duke have ceased. The Government therefore find themselves much strengthened. It is to be hoped that the martial law lately proclaimed in Florence, as well as other enactments, which gave rise to a complete reign of terror of the fiercest description, will remain a dead letter. The critical state of the capital and of the country, which offered a pretext for these measures, has in some measure ceased. There is now no opposition to the Provisional Government. They are obliged however to submit to a most despotic master, who hourly reminds them of the chains by which they are held in submission, viz., the power of the clubs. These formidable assemblies govern the Government. Your Lordship may more easily imagine than I can describe, the state to which a country is thus reduced.

It is impossible to exaggerate the terror, the poverty and desolation reigning in this fair city.

But little blood has yet been spilt. The Italians seem fortunately to have an inherent dislike to shed it, more particularly the inhabitants of peaceful Etruria.

The English population of Florence and its neighbourhood are in great alarm. In order to give them some confidence, I have not taken down Her Majesty's arms from the gates of my house in Florence. They think that as long as those arms are visible, they are not left without protection. I shall continue to keep them up, unless ordered to the contrary by your Lordship.

The English residents here of all classes are extremely numerous. I cannot give your Lordship a correct statement of their numbers, but with the subjects of the British Crown at Leghorn they would form the population of no inconsiderable city.

I have had occasion to apply to the Provisional Government in several cases where my countrymen are concerned. My applications have met with the most marked attention; my requests even to the discharging of prisoners having been attended with instantaneous success.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

No. 190.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 9.)

My Lord,

Vienna, March 2, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship in translation an extract from the Vienna Gazette of this day respecting the fine levied at Ferrara by Lieutenant-General Haynau on the 18th instant, which your Lordship will have learned by my despatch of the 26th ultimo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) PONSONBY.

Inclosure in No. 190.

Extract from the Vienna Gazette of March 2, 1849.

(Translation.)

THE public was apprized by a communication a few days ago of the expedition of Lieutenant-General Haynau against Ferrara, and that as a punishment a fine of 200,000 scudi (independent of the 6000 scudi indemnity to the Consul Bertuzzi) was levied on that town.

His Majesty has been graciously pleased to declare, in consideration of the proposal of his Ministerial Council, that this sum shall be immediately placed at

the disposal of His Holiness the Pope, and thereby to give to the legitimate Sovereign of the town of Ferrara the clearest proof that the expedition undertaken against it by the Imperial and Royal troops was guided by just and unselfish views, and that they were forced by necessity to inflict a well-merited punishment upon a town which had disregarded its duties to its legitimate Sovereign, as well as the rights of nations and of humanity.

It is thought that the fine thus imposed on this rebellious city could have no worthier destination than that of the hands of the Holy Father, in order—should it so please him—that it may be employed to alleviate some portion of the misery caused to so many by the terrorism at present existing in his States, and which daily brings so many sacrifices to the revolution.

No. 191.

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, March 9, 1849.

ALTHOUGH Great Britain has not so direct an interest as France has in the ecclesiastical and political questions which arise out of the present relations between the Pope and the people of the Roman States, the British Government nevertheless cannot view those matters with indifference. Great Britain is indeed a Protestant State, but Her Majesty has many millions of Catholic subjects; and the British Government must therefore be desirous, with a view to British interests, that the Pope should be placed in such a temporal position as to be able to act with entire independence in the exercise of his spiritual functions. Great Britain is so far distant from Italy that the political events of the Italian Peninsula cannot have the same direct bearing upon British interests which those events must exert upon the interests of nearer States; but still as those events must always have a powerful influence upon matters involving questions of peace or war in Europe, the British Government must necessarily watch those events with much attention and anxiety.

The present condition of the relations between the Pope and the people of his States has therefore been looked at with deep solicitude by Her Majesty's Government. It would have been the earnest wish of Her Majesty's Government, both on general principles and with reference to the particular circumstances of the case, that the differences between the Pope and his subjects should have been adjusted by negotiation, either between the Pope and his subjects directly, or by means of the interposition of friendly Powers. A direct negotiation between the Pope and his subjects seems now to have been rendered impossible by the course of events at Rome, and by the tendency of those counsels which there is reason to think are suggested to the Pope by the persons who surround him at Gaeta. But Her Majesty's Government do not see even in the recent occurrences at Rome any reason for giving up the hope that the diplomatic interposition of friendly Powers might still, without any actual employment of military force, bring about such a settlement of differences as would enable the Pope to return to Rome and to resume his temporal authority; and Her Majesty's Government, deprecating as they do, on principle, the employment of a foreign military force to settle internal dissensions in a State except in extreme and peculiar cases, would greatly rejoice if the Powers to whom the Pope has now appealed for assistance to extricate him from his difficulties, were to try the effect of their moral influence at Rome, before they resorted to any other more active measures.

It seems to Her Majesty's Government that a strong and unanimous manifestation of the opinion of those Powers in support of order on the one hand, and of constitutional rights on the other, would bring to reason the minority who now exercise paramount authority at Rome; and would give courage and confidence to the majority who have been hitherto intimidated and overborne; and if Great Britain had been invited to be a party to these negotiations, and if an invitation to that effect had been accepted, such would have been the course which Her Majesty's Government would have recommended that the parties to the transaction should pursue.

Her Majesty's Government have learnt with much pleasure that France has been included in the invitation addressed by the Pope to some of the Catholic

Powers, requesting them to take an active interest in the present condition of his affairs; and Her Majesty's Government hope that if there is to be a concert among any of the Powers of Europe in regard to those affairs, the French Government will not decline the invitation to be a party thereto. There are many very obvious reasons why in several points of view it would be desirable that these matters should not be disposed of without the participation of France.

Your Excellency says that the French Government would have preferred that Sardinia should have been invited to take part in these deliberations. Her Majesty's Government are entirely of the same opinion.

The participation of Sardinia would mitigate the foreign character of the negotiation, and if a contingency were to arise which should lead to the employment of any military force within the Roman territory, Piedmontese troops would for many evident reasons be better suited for such purpose than the troops of Austria or of any State not belonging to the Italian Peninsula.

The opinion then of Her Majesty's Government upon the points on which the Government of France has wished to have it, that it would be desirable that France should be a party to the proposed deliberations, and that Sardinia should take part in them also; that it would be desirable that every endeavour should be made to bring about a settlement between the Pope and his subjects by negotiation and by moral influence before resorting to the employment of force; and that one condition of the reinstatement of the Pope ought to be that he should engage to maintain in their main and essential provisions the Constitutional and Representative institutions which he granted to his subjects last year.

No. 192.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 9, 1849.

IN reply to your despatch of the 27th ultimo, I have to acquaint you that you have done right in having continued to remain at Florence for the protection of British subjects, and in not having taken down the British arms from over your door.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 193.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 9.)

My Lord,

Turin, March 4, 1849.

THE address from the Chamber of Deputies, in answer to the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the present session, has been voted in a House of 118 members, 94 voting for the address, 24 against it; giving the Ministry and the Committee charged with the drawing up of the address a majority of 70 votes.

I have the honour to transmit herewith a translation of the three concluding paragraphs of this address, as a specimen of the spirit and the opinions which predominate in the present Chamber.

The warlike sentiments expressed in this document come most inopportunistly in support of the unfortunate views which His Sardinian Majesty's Government entertain upon this question; and I am much afraid that the impulse which they are likely to give to this desire to recommence hostilities, may be productive of the most prejudicial results.

I have omitted no opportunity that has offered since the entrance into office of the Marquis Colli, to impress upon him the fatal error into which the Sardinian Government would fall, were they to allow themselves to be led into war.

I have endeavoured to convince him, as is but too truly the case, that to recommence an attack upon Austria would be but preparing the way for the overthrow of His Sardinian Majesty's Throne.

The Marquis replied that he would endeavour as much as possible to avert

the probabilities of war, but that he could not undertake to assure me, to use his own expression, "that the horses will not take the bit in their teeth and run off."

Your Lordship will be able, from the above facts, to appreciate correctly the present position of this country, and to judge of the prospect which the future affords.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 193.

Address of the Chamber of Deputies to the King of Sardinia.

(Extract.)

(Translation.)

11. YOUR Majesty has said let us profit by our first trials and be taught by experience. The skill of our leaders, and the experience of our administrators will double the bravery of our soldiers by inspiring them with confidence. The reserves are ready to march, the army is well trained according to the rules of military discipline, the national guard organized and under arms, and wherever danger will appear, the whole nation will contribute to secure victory to our standards.

12. Let us free that part of the kingdom which lies under foreign oppression, and deliver from their unjust martyrdom those brethren who, as they have been constant and magnanimous in adversity, will prove strong and resolute friends when united to us. Let us hasten to assist the heroic Venice, which remains unconquered in her unequal struggle.

13. The nation is prepared for the great conflict and for every sacrifice. We have already conceded too much, and to no purpose, to the maintenance of the peace of Europe. Even the greatest sacrifices will weigh lightly upon us if made for the war.

No. 194.

Count Colloredo to Viscount Palmerston.

My Lord,

Mivart's Hotel, le 7 Mars, 1849.

SOUS ce pli j'ai l'honneur de transmettre à votre Seigneurie une dépêche de Vienne que j'ai l'ordre de lui communiquer. Veuillez me la faire restituer après en avoir pris connaissance, et agréer, &c.

(Signé) COLLOREDO.

(Translation.)

My Lord,

Mivart's Hotel, March 7, 1849.

UNDER this cover I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a despatch from Vienna which I am ordered to communicate to you. Have the goodness to return it to me after having made yourself acquainted with it, and receive, &c.

(Signed) COLLOREDO.

Inclosure in No. 194.

Prince Schwarzenberg to Count Colloredo.

M. le Comte,

Vienne, le 1 Mars, 1849.

PAR ma dépêche du 25 Février, et le numéro de la Gazette de Vienne qui l'accompagnait, vous avez été informé de tous les détails de l'expédition militaire que le Général Baron de Haynau avait exécutée dans le but de châtier la ville de Ferrare.

Pour compléter les notions que j'ai transmises à ce sujet à votre Excellence, j'ai l'honneur de la prévenir que l'Empereur mon auguste maître, mû par le généreux désir d'offrir au Souverain légitime de la ville de Ferrare une preuve non douteuse des vues aussi justes que désintéressées qui ont présidé à l'expédition de Ferrare, a daigné ordonner que la somme de 200,000 écus levée à titre d'amende par le Général de Haynau, soit mise immédiatement à la disposition de Sa Sainteté.

Vous voudrez bien donner lecture de cette dépêche à Lord Palmerston.

Recevez, &c.
(Signé) SCHWARZENBERG.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte,

Vienna, March 1, 1849.

BY my despatch of the 25th of February, and the number of the Gazette of Vienna which accompanied it, you were informed of all the details of the military expedition which General Baron de Haynau had undertaken in order to chastise the city of Ferrara.

In order to complete the information which I have forwarded to your Excellency on this matter, I have the honour to inform you that the Emperor my august master, influenced by the generous desire of offering to the legitimate Sovereign of the city of Ferrara an indubitable proof of the just and disinterested views which directed the expedition against Ferrara, has been pleased to order that the sum of 200,000 crowns levied as a fine by General de Haynau, should be immediately placed at the disposal of His Holiness.

You will have the goodness to read this despatch to Lord Palmerston.

Receive, &c.
(Signed) SCHWARZENBERG.

No. 195.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 9.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 8, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit the copy of a note I have received from the Apostolic Nuncio, inclosing one which has been addressed by the Cardinal Antonelli to the Representatives of all friendly Powers, requesting them to co-operate for the purpose of re-establishing the Papal authority at Rome.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NORMANBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 195.

The Apostolic Nuncio to the Marquis of Normanby.

M. le Marquis,

Paris, ce 6 Mars, 1849.

PAR suite des graves événemens qui successivement se sont accomplis à Rome, le Très Saint Père s'est trouvé dans la nécessité d'adresser à toutes les Puissances amies du St. Siège une invitation formelle de coopérer au rétablissement de l'autorité du Gouvernement Pontifical comme seul moyen d'arrêter l'anarchie qui opprime les Etats de l'Eglise; et je suis chargé par ordre exprès de Sa Sainteté de transmettre ci-joint à votre Excellence la copie de la note de son Eminence M. le Cardinal Secrétaire d'Etat, en vous priant, M. l'Ambassadeur, de la porter à la connaissance du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique, et d'y joindre vos bons offices pour l'accomplissement des vues du Très Saint Père.

Sa Sainteté aime à espérer qu'elle trouvera dans les dispositions des Puissances amies un secours efficace qui puisse satisfaire aux vœux, aux prières réitérées de l'immense majorité de ses fidèles sujets, demandant tous d'être

soulagés des violences et des oppressions dont ils sont l'objet de la part d'une faction audace et impie.

Le Saint Père qui a été très touché de l'intérêt et des sympathies que Sa Majesté la Reine d'Angleterre, votre Auguste Souveraine, a bien voulu lui témoigner par la lettre qu'elle lui a adressée au mois de Janvier dernier, est conforté de la pensée que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté, qui s'intéresse vivement à l'ordre et à la paix de l'Europe, voudra dans les circonstances actuelles prêter le meilleur concours pour faire cesser un état de choses si nuisible à la paix générale et au honneur des peuples, et appuyer de sa puissante influence le concours réclamé pour le rétablissement du pouvoir légitime du Saint Père dont l'indépendance est plus que jamais nécessaire pour l'exercice de son autorité dans le Monde Catholique.

Veuillez, M. le Marquis, je vous prie, transmettre le plus promptement possible ma communication à votre Gouvernement, et recevez, &c.

(Signé)

R. ARCHEVEQUE DE NICEE,

Nonce Apostolique.

(Translation.)

M. le Marquis,

Paris, March 6, 1849.

IN consequence of the serious events which have succeeded each other at Rome, the Holy Father has found himself under the necessity of addressing to the Powers friendly to him a formal invitation to co-operate for the re-establishment of the authority of the Pontifical Government as the only means of checking the anarchy which oppresses the States of the Church; and I am desired by express order from His Holiness to transmit herewith to your Excellency the copy of a note from his Eminence the Cardinal Secretary of State, and to request you to bring it under the notice of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, and to unite with it your good offices for the accomplishment of the objects which the Holy Father has in view.

His Holiness hopes to find in the dispositions of the friendly Powers an effectual assistance which may satisfy the wishes and the reiterated prayers of an immense majority of his faithful subjects, all asking to be relieved from the violence and oppression to which they have been subjected by an audacious and impious faction.

The Holy Father, who has been much affected by the interest and sympathy which Her Majesty the Queen of England, your august Sovereign, has been pleased to show for him in the letter which she addressed to him in the month of January last, is encouraged by the hope that Her Majesty's Government, who takes a lively interest in the order and peace of Europe, will be pleased under the present circumstances to co-operate in the best manner in order to put a stop to a state of things so detrimental to the general peace and to the happiness of nations, and to support with their powerful influence the co-operation claimed for the re-establishment of the legitimate power of the Holy Father, whose independence is more than ever necessary for the exercise of his authority in the Catholic World.

I request that you will have the goodness to transmit my communication as soon as possible to your Government, and that you will accept, &c.

(Signed)

R. ARCHBISHOP OF NICÆA,

Apostolic Nuncio.

Inclosure 2 in No. 195.

Cardinal Antonelli to the Representatives of Foreign Powers.

Gaeta, 18 febbrajo, 1849.

LA Santità di nostro Signore, fino dai primordii del suo Pontificato, non ebbe altro in mira che di prodigare beneficenze verso i suoi sudditi a seconda dei tempi, provvedendo ad ogni lor miglior bene. In fatti dopo aver pronunziato la parola del perdono a coloro che per delitti politici o erano esuli o giacevano nel carcere, dopo aver eretta la Consulta di Stato ed istituito il Consiglio de' Ministri, accordata per la imperiosa violenza delle circostanze la istituzione

della Guardia Civica, la nuova legge per una onesta libertà della stampa, ed infine uno statuto fondamentale per gli Stati di Santa Chiesa, aveva egli ben diritto a quella riconoscenza che i sudditi devono ad un Principe, il quale non li riguardava che come suoi figli, e non prometteva loro se non un regno di amore. Ma ben altro fu il ricambio che ritrasse da tanti benefici e condiscendenze loro prodigate. Dopo brevi dimostrazioni di plauso, guidate però da chi già aveva nel seno le più ree intenzioni (dimostrazioni che il Santo Padre con i modi tutti propri del paterno suo cuore procurò di far cessare) ben tosto sperimentò l'amaro frutto della ingratitudine. Violentato egli dalla sferzatezza di una fazione ad impugnarsi in una guerra contro l'Austria, si trovò costretto di pronunciare una allocuzione nel Concistoro del 19 Aprile dello scorso anno, con la quale dichiarò al mondo intero che il suo dovere e la sua coscienza nol consentivano. Tanto bastò perchè prorompevano le già predisposte machinazioni in aperte violenze all' esercizio del suo pieno e libero potere, costringendolo alla divisione del Ministero di Stato in ecclesiastico e civile, divisione che non mai riconobbe.

Si confidava però il Santo Padre che ponendo ai diversi Ministerii persone idonee ed amanti dell' ordine, fossero le cose per prendere migliore andamento, e si arrestassero in parte quei mali che già minacciavano sciagure. Ma un ferro micidiale, brandito da mano assassina, troncò le concepite speranze con la morte del Ministro Rossi. Da questo delitto menato in trionfo, si inaugurò impudentemente il regno della violenza; si circondò di armati il Quirinale, lo si tentò d'incendio, si esplosero colpi contro gli appartamenti ove dimorava il Sommo Pontefice, e si ebbe il dolore di vedere che uno dei segretarii ne rimanesse vittima; volevasi infine col cannone aprire a viva forza il suo palazzo, laddove non cedesse ad ammettere il Ministero che gli veniva imposto.

Con una serie di fatti sì atroci, come a tutti è ben noto, avendo dovuto soccombere all' impero della forza, si vide il Pontefice nella dura necessità di allontanarsi da Roma e da tutto lo Stato Pontificio, a fine di recuperare quella libertà che gli era stata tolta, e di cui deve godere nel pieno uso della suprema sua potestà. Per disposizione della Divina Provvidenza riparatosi a Gaeta, ed ospitato da un Principe eminentemente Cattolico, circondato da una gran parte del Sagra Collegio e dai Rappresentanti di tutte le Potenze con le quali è in amichevoli rapporti, non tardò un momento a fare sentire la sua voce ad annunziare coll' atto Pontificio del 27 Novembre prossimo passato i motivi della temporanea separazione dai suoi sudditi, la nullità e la illegalità di tutti gli atti emanati dal Ministero estorto dalla violenza, ed a nominare una commissione governativa purchè assumesse la direzione dei pubblici affari durante l'assenza dai suoi Stati.

Per nulla apprezzandosi la emanazione de' suoi voleri, e procurandosi con mendicanti pretesti di eludere la loro forza presso la classe inesperta, si passò dagli autori delle sacrileghe violenze ad attentati maggiori, arrogandosi quei diritti che al Sovrano solo si appartengono, con l'istituzione di una illegittima rappresentanza governativa col titolo di provvisoria e suprema Giunta di Stato. Contro il quale gravissimo e sacrilego misfatto il Santo Padre solennemente protestò, con l'altro suo atto del 17 Dicembre prossimo passato, annunziando non essere quella Giunta di Stato se non una usurpazione dei sovrani poteri, nè avere perciò alcuna autorità.

Si aspettava egli che tali proteste richiamassero ai doveri di fedeltà e di sudditanza i traviati, ma invece un nuovo e più mostruoso atto di palese fellonia, di vera ribellione colpì la sua amarezza. Tale fu la convocazione di un' assemblea generale nazionale dello Stato Romano, per stabilire nuove forme politiche da darsi agli Stati della Santa Sede. Laonde con altro Moto Proprio del 1.º dell' ora decorso Gennaio protestò contro quell' atto, e lo condannò qual enorme e sacrilego attentato commesso in pregiudizio della sua indipendenza e sovranità meritevole dei gastighi comminati dalle leggi sì divine come umane, e vietò ad ognuno de' suoi sudditi il prendervi parte, avvertendoli che chiunque osa attentare contro la temporale sovranità dei Sommi Pontefici Romani, incorre nelle censure e specialmente nella scomunica maggiore, pena nella quale dichiarò essere incorsi coloro eziandio che in qualunque modo e sotto mentito pretesto hanno violata ed usurpata la sua autorità.

Come si accogliesse dal partito, simile protesta e si autorevole condanna, basterà l'accennare che si tentò ogni sforzo per impedire la divulgazione, si sottopose a gastighi chi osasse istruirne il popolo, chi non secondasse le loro mire, tuttavia ad onta di sì insudita violenza la maggioranza dei sudditi rimase

fedele al proprio Sovrano, e si espose a sacrificii ed a pericoli ancora della vita, piuttosto che nancare al dovere di suddito e di Cattolico. Inaspettito maggiormente il partito medesimo nel vedere contrariati i loro disegni, raddoppiarono in mille modi la violenza ed il terrore, senza riguardo alcuno a condizione o grado, ma volendosi consumare ad ogni costo questo eccesso di fellonia si ricorse pure alle arti le più villi e mercenarie. Così passando di eccesso in eccesso, con abusare delle stesse beneficenze concesse dal Pontefice, e specialmente convertendo nella più ributtante licenza la libertà della stampa, dopo le più inique malversazioni per premiare i loro complici e non più tollerare la presenza degli onesti e timorati, dopo tanti assassinii commessi sotto la loro egide, dopo aver disseminato ovunque la ribellione, il mal costume, la irreligione, dopo aver sedotta tanta gioventù incauta, non più rispettando i luoghi sagri e gli asili di pace e di solitudine, ne' i luoghi stessi di pubblico insegnamento per convertirli in covili della più indisciplinata milizia raccolta da profughi e scelerati di estere contrade, si vuol ridurre la capitale del mondo Cattolico, la sede dei Pontefici, in una sede di empietà, atterrando, se fosse possibile, ogni idea di sovranità in chi dalla provvidenza è destinato a reggere la Chiesa universale, e che appunto per esercitare liberamente questa sua autorità su tutto l'orbe Cattolico, gode di uno stato come patrimonio della Chiesa; alla quale vista di desolazione e di strage non può il Santo Padre non rimanere profondamente addolorato, commosso altresì dal grido de' suoi buoni sudditi, che reclamano il suo ajuto, il suo soccorso per essere liberati dalla più atroce tirannia.

La Santità Sua, com'è palese, poco dopo giunta in Gaeta, sotto il giorno 4 Dicembre prossimo passato, diresse la sua voce a tutti li Sovrani coi quali è in relazione, e dando lor parte del suo allontanamento dalla capitale e dallo Stato Pontificio, e delle cause che lo provocarono, invocava il loro patrocinio per la difesa dei domini della Santa Sede. Ed è pure di dolce soddisfazione il manifestarci di avere presso che tutti amorevolmente corrisposto, prendendo la più viva parte alle sue amarezze, alla penosa sua situazione, offendosi pronti in suo favore, ed estendendo al tempo stesso sensi ossequiosissimi di devozione e di attaccamento.

Nella aspettativa di sì felici e generose disposizioni, mentre Sua Maestà la Regina di Spagna aveva con tanta sollecitudine promosso un Congresso delle Potenze Cattoliche per determinare i mezzi onde prontamente ristabilire il Santo Padre ne' suoi Stati, e nella sua piena libertà ed indipendenza, proposizione alla quale avevano prestato adesione varie Potenze Cattoliche, e stavasi in attenzione di quella delle altre, è pur d'uopo con dolore riferire, che le cose dello Stato Pontificio sono in preda di un incendio devastatore per opera del partito sovvertitore di ogni sociale istituzione, che sotto spezzosi pretesti di nazionalità ed indipendenza nulla ha trascurato di porre in opera per giungere al colmo della loro nequizia. Il decreto, detta fondamentale, emanato nel dì 9 corrente, dall'Assemblea Costituente Romana offre un'atto che da ogni dove ribocca della più nera fellonia e della più abominevole empietà. Con esso dichiarasi principalmente decaduto il Papato di fatto e di diritto dal governo temporale dello Stato Romano, si proclama una Repubblica, e con altro atto si decreta l'abbassamento degli stemmi del Santo Padre. Sua Santità nel vedere così vilipesa la suprema sua dignità di Pontefice e Sovrano, protesta in faccia ai Potentati tutti, ed a tutti i singoli Cattolici del mondo niverso, contro questo eccesso d'irreligione, contro sì violento attentato di spoglio degli imprescrittibili e sacrosanti suoi diritti. Quindi laddove non si accorresse con un pronto riparo, giungerebbe il soccorso allorché quando gli Stati della Chiesa, ora interamente in preda de' suoi accerrimi nemici, fossero ridotti in cenere.

Pertanto avendo il Santo Padre esauriti tutti i mezzi che erano in suo potere, spinto dal dovere che ha al cospetto di tutto il mondo Cattolico di conservare integro il patrimonio della Chiesa e la sovranità che vi è annessa, così indispensabile a mantenere la sua piena libertà ed indipendenza come capo supremo della Chiesa stessa, e mosso altresì dal gemito dei buoni che reclamano altamente un ajuto, non potendo più oltre sopportare un giogo di ferro ed una mano tirannica, si rivolge di nuovo a quelli stesse Potenze, e specialmente a quelle Cattoliche che con tanta generosità di animo, ed in modo non dubbio hanno manifestata la loro decisa volontà di esser pronte a difendere la sua causa, nella certezza che vorranno con ogni sollecitudine concorrere con il loro morale intervento, affinché venga egli restituito alla sua sede, alla capitale di quei domini che furono appunto costituiti a mantenere la sua piena libertà ed indi-

pendenza, e garantiti eziandio dai trattati che formano la base del diritto pubblico Europeo.

E poichè l'Austria, la Francia, la Spagna, ed il Regno delle Due Sicilie si trovano per la loro posizione geografica in situazione di potere sollecitamente accorrere con le loro armi a ristabilire nei domini della Santa Sede l'ordine manomesso da un'orda di settarii, così il Santo Padre, fidando nel religioso interesse di queste Potenze figlie della Chiesa, domanda con piena fiducia il loro intervento armato per liberare principalmente lo Stato della Santa Sede da quella fazione di tristi che con ogni sorta di sceleraggine vi esercita il più atroce despotismo.

Per tal modo solo potrà essere ripristinato l'ordine negli Stati della Chiesa, e restituito il Sommo Pontefice al libero esercizio della suprema sua autorità, siccome lo esigono imperiosamente il sacro ed augusto suo carattere, gl'interessi della Chiesa universale, e la pace dei popoli; e così potrà egli conservare quel patrimonio che ha ricevuto nell'assunzione del Pontificato per trasmetterlo integro ai suoi successori. La causa è dell'ordine e del Cattolicesimo. Per la qual cosa il Santo Padre si confida che mentre tutte le Potenze con cui si trova in amichevoli relazioni, e che in tanti modi nella situazione in che è stato gettato da un partito di faziosi, gli hanno manifestato il loro più vivo interesse, daranno un'assistenza morale all'intervento armato, che per la gravità delle circostanze ha dovuto invocare, le quattro Potenze di sopra accennate non indugieranno un momento di prestare l'opera loro richiesta, rendendosi così benemerite dell'ordine pubblico e della religione.

Il Sottoscritto, Cardinale Pro-Segretario di Stato di Sua Santità, interessa per tanto vostra Eccellenza affinché si compiacca portare questa nota il più sollecitamente possibile a cognizione del suo Governo; e nella fiducia di benevola accoglienza, ha l'onore, &c.

(Translation.)

Gaeta, February 18, 1849.

HIS Holiness our master, from the very beginning of his Pontificate, has had no other object than to bestow benefits on his subjects in unison with the times, providing for their welfare in everything. In fact, after having pardoned those who were in exile or in prison for political offences, after having erected the Consulta di Stato, and instituted the Council of Ministers, after having granted, through the imperious necessity of circumstances, the institution of the Civic Guard, the new law for a fair liberty of the press, and finally, a fundamental statute for the States of the Holy Church, he had a good claim to that gratitude which is due from the subjects to a Prince who looks upon them only as his children, and who promises them only a reign of love. But far different was the return he found for the many benefits and kindnesses lavished upon them. After brief tokens of applause, which too were led by persons who already cherished the most criminal designs in their hearts (tokens which the Holy Father by every means known to his paternal heart, endeavoured to put an end to), he very soon experienced the bitter fruit of ingratitude. Driven by the violence of a faction to make war against Austria, he found himself compelled to pronounce an allocution in the Consistory of the 19th day of April of last year, in which he declared to the whole world that his duty and his conscience were not consenting to it. This exercise of his full and free powers was enough to call into open violence the machinations which were already predisposed, compelling him to a division of the Ministry of State into the ecclesiastical and civil departments, a division which he never recognised.

The Holy Father trusted, however, that by placing in the various departments, persons fit for their posts and desirous of order, things would take a better course, and that a partial stop would be put to those evils which already threatened misfortune. But a murderous weapon, wielded by the hand of an assassin, destroyed, by the death of the Minister Rossi, the hopes which had been formed. Triumphant by this crime, the reign of violence was shamelessly inaugurated; the Quirinal was invested by armed men, attempts were made to set it on fire, shots were directed against the apartments where the Supreme Pontiff resided, and it resulted unhappily that one of the secretaries became a victim; they would have forcibly hurst open his palace by

cannon if he had not yielded to the admission of the Ministry imposed upon him.

The Pontiff, having been compelled to yield to the empire of force, as is well-known to every one, by a series of such atrocious deeds, found himself reduced to the cruel necessity of quitting Rome and the whole Pontifical State, in order to recover the liberty which had been taken from him, and which he ought to enjoy in the full use of his supreme power. Having proceeded to Gaeta, under the directions of Divine Providence, being sheltered by a Prince eminently Catholic, and surrounded by a large part of the Sacred College, and by the Representatives of all the Powers with whom he is in relations of amity, he did not delay one moment to make his voice heard in announcing by the Pontifical Act of the 27th November last, the motives of his temporary separation from his subjects, the nullity and illegality of all the acts emanating from a Ministry which had been extorted by violence, and in nominating a Governing Commission in order to assume the direction of public affairs during his absence from his States.

But the authors of these sacrilegious outrages, caring nothing for the promulgation of his wishes, and endeavouring by false pretexts to elude their force in view of the ignorant classes, passed on to greater crimes, arrogating to themselves the rights due to the Sovereign alone by the institution of an illegal governing representation under the title of Provisional and Supreme Giunta di Stato; against which most grave and sacrilegious deed the Holy Father solemnly protested by his other Act of the 17th December last, declaring that the Giunta di Stato was only an usurpation of sovereign power, and that therefore it had no authority.

He expected that these protests would recall these misguided men to the duties of fidelity and subjection, but instead of that, a new and more monstrous act of open villainy, of real rebellion, filled up the measure of his grief. This was the convocation of a General National Assembly of the Roman State, for the purpose of establishing new political forms to be given to the States of the Holy See. Thereupon, by another Moto Proprio of the 1st of January last, he protested against that act, and condemned it as an enormous and sacrilegious offence, committed in prejudice of his independence and sovereignty, deserving of the chastisements threatened by laws both human and divine; and he prohibited all his subjects from taking part in the same, warning them that whosoever should dare to act against the temporal sovereignty of the Supreme Roman Pontiffs would be liable to censures, and especially to the greater excommunication, a penalty to which he declared liable those also who in any manner whatever, and under any false pretext, have violated and usurped his authority.

With regard to the reception given by the party to this protest and authoritative condemnation, it is sufficient to state that every effort was made to prevent its promulgation, that punishment was awarded against any one who should dare to acquaint the people with it, or who should not second their views; but notwithstanding such unheard-of violence, the majority of the subjects remained faithful to their own Sovereign, and exposed themselves to sacrifices and even to the danger of death rather than fail in their duty as subjects and Catholics. The same party, exasperated more and more at seeing their designs obstructed, increased the violence and terror in a thousand ways, without regard to rank or condition, and being desirous at every cost to complete their villainous career, they had recourse even to the arts most vile and mercenary. Thus passing from one excess to another, abusing the very benefits granted by the Pontiff, and especially converting the liberty of the press to the most revolting licentiousness, after the most iniquitous malversations committed in order to reward their accomplices, and to remove to a distance good and honest men, after so many murders committed under their aegis, after having spread everywhere rebellion, immorality, and irreligion—after having misled so many unguarded young persons, no longer respecting sacred places and the asylums of peace and solitude, nor even the places of public education, but converting them into dens for a most undisciplined soldiery gathered from the refugees and bad men of foreign countries; they wish to reduce the capital of the Catholic world, the seat of the Pontiffs, to a seat of impiety, and to destroy, if it were possible, every idea of sovereignty in him who is destined by Providence to govern the Universal Church, and who for the very object of exercising freely his authority over the whole Catholic world, is in possession of a State as the patrimony of the Church; at which sight of desolation.

and evil the Holy Father cannot but be deeply grieved, as well as moved by the cry of his good subjects, who implore his aid and assistance to liberate them from the most atrocious tyranny.

His Holiness, as it is known, soon after his arrival in Gaeta, addressed on the 4th day of September last, all the Sovereigns with whom he has relations, and informing them of his departure from the capital and from the Pontifical State, and of the causes which had produced it, called upon them for protection in defence of the dominions of the Holy See; and it is a pleasing satisfaction to declare that almost all have kindly responded, taking the liveliest part in his grief, and in his painful position, offering themselves ready to aid him, and at the same time manifesting the most obedient sense of devotion and of attachment.

Awaiting these fortunate and generous resolutions, whilst Her Majesty the Queen of Spain had so anxiously promoted a Congress of the Catholic Powers to determine the means of promptly re-establishing the Holy Father in his States, and in his full liberty and independence, a proposition to which several Catholic Powers had given their adhesion, and that of the rest was expected, it must however be stated with pain that the affairs of the Pontifical State are a prey to wasting destruction through the acts of the party which is hostile to every social institution, which, under the specious pretences of nationality and independence, has omitted no measure to complete their iniquities. The decree called "Fundamental," issued by the Roman Constituent Assembly on the 9th instant, is an act which abounds in every way with the blackest villainy and the most abominable impiety. Its chief declaration is that the Papacy has *de facto* and *de jure* ceased from the temporal Government of the Roman State, and it proclaims a Republic; another Act decrees that the arms of the Holy Father be taken down. At the sight of his supreme dignity as a Pontiff and a Sovereign thus condemned, His Holiness, before all Potentates, and all and every Catholic in the whole world, protests against this excess of irreligion and against so outrageous a violation of his imprescriptible and most sacred rights. If a remedy be not promptly applied, the succour will not arrive until the States of the Church, now wholly a prey to its bitterest enemies, shall be reduced to ashes.

Having exhausted all the means at his disposal, urged by the duty imposed on him in the face of the whole Catholic world to preserve uninjured the patrimony of the Church, and the sovereignty annexed to it, which is so indispensable to the maintenance of his full liberty and independence as Supreme Head of the Church itself, and moved also by the groans of the good, who are loudly calling out for help, as being unable to bear any longer a yoke of iron and a hand of tyranny, the Holy Father therefore applies again to those same Powers, and especially to those Catholic Powers who with such generosity of mind and in so unhesitating a manner have manifested their decided readiness to defend his cause, in the assurance that they will be most anxious to come forward with their moral intervention, in order that he may be restored to his See, to the capital of those dominions which were constituted expressly to maintain his full liberty and independence, and which are moreover guaranteed by the treaties forming the basis of the European law of nations.

And whereas Austria, France, Spain, and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, by their geographical position are in a situation to be able to come forward promptly to establish with arms, in the dominions of the Holy See, that order which has been destroyed by a band of sectaries, the Holy Father, trusting in the religious interest felt by those Powers, daughters of the Church, demands with full confidence their armed intervention especially to liberate the State of the Holy See from that faction of bad men, who with every sort of wickedness exercise in it the most atrocious despotism.

In this manner only can order be restored in the States of the Church, and the Chief Pontiff be restored to the free exercise of his supreme authority, as imperiously demanded by his sacred and august character, by the interests of the universal Church, and by the peace of nations, and thus only can he preserve that patrimony which he received on his accession to the Pontificate, to transmit it entire to his successors. The cause is that of order and of Catholicism. Therefore the Holy Father trusts that while all the Powers with whom he is in relations of amity, and who, in the situation into which he has been thrown by a party of factious men, have in so many ways manifested the strongest interest in him, will give a moral assistance to the armed intervention which

the serious state of circumstances have impelled him to demand, the four Powers above mentioned will not delay one moment to perform the work required of them, thus rendering themselves highly serviceable to the cause of public order and religion.

The Undersigned, Cardinal Pro-Secretary of State of His Holiness, engages your Excellency therefore to have the kindness to bring this note as promptly as possible to the knowledge of your Government; and in the confidence of a favourable reception, he has the honour, &c.

No. 196.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 9.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 8, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship the copy of a note I have received from the Apostolic Nuncio inclosing one which has been addressed by Cardinal Antonelli to the Representatives of all friendly Powers respecting the confiscation of Church property in the Papal States.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 196.

The Apostolic Nuncio to the Marquis of Normanby.

M. le Marquis,

Paris, le 6 Mars, 1849.

J'AI l'honneur de transmettre ci-jointe à votre Excellence une copie de la note que son Eminence M. le Cardinal Antonelli, Pro-Secrétaire d'Etat, a adressée par ordre exprès de Sa Sainteté, aux Représentans des Puissances, sous la date du 19 Février dernier, de Gaëte, au sujet de la confiscation des biens ecclésiastiques décrétée par la soi-disant Constituante Romaine. C'est une protestation solennelle qui a pour objet de prévenir spécialement les étrangers de tout Etat ou nation, que les contrats en vertu desquels ils deviendraient acquéreurs des biens si iniquement enlevés à l'Eglise, sont d'avance frappés de nullité et ne pouvant jamais être validés sous aucun prétexte.

Quoique les principes de haute moralité et de justice qui distinguent les sujets de Sa Majesté Britannique soient la plus sûre garantie de leur délicatesse, et quoiqu'il ne soit pas douteux qu'ils se refuseront à prêter un concours quelconque à ces spoliations sacrilèges, je dois, par commandement exprès de son Eminence M. le Cardinal Pro-Secrétaire d'Etat, faire connaître la volonté manifestée du Souverain Pontife à votre Excellence, et vous prier, M. l'Ambassadeur, de vouloir bien en donner communication à votre Gouvernement, afin que le contenu de la note ci-incluse ait la plus grande publicité, de telle sorte que les personnes qui se laisseraient entraîner à des contrats pour les biens et propriétés ecclésiastiques dont il s'agit, ne puissent prétexter cause d'ignorance.

Veuillez, &c.

(Signé) R. ARCHEVEQUE DE NICEE.

Nonce Apostolique.

(Translation.)

M. le Marquis,

Paris, March 6, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Excellency herewith a copy of the note which his Eminence M. le Cardinal Antonelli, Pro-Secretary of State, addressed from Gaeta on the 19th February, by the express orders of His Holiness, to the Representatives of the Powers, on the subject of the confiscation of the ecclesiastical property decreed by the so-called Roman Constituent. It is a solemn protest, the object of which is specially to warn foreigners of every state or nation, that the contracts in virtue of which they might acquire property so iniquitously plundered from the Church, are beforehand declared null, and never under any pretext to be treated as valid.

Although the principles of high morality and justice which characterize Her Britannic Majesty's subjects are the surest guarantee of the propriety of their conduct, and though there is no doubt that they will in no way whatever countenance these sacrilegious spoliations, it is my duty, by the express order of his Eminence the Cardinal Pro-Secretary of State, to communicate to your Excellency the determination of the Sovereign Pontiff, and to request you, M. l'Ambassadeur, to report it to your Government, in order that the contents of the inclosed note may obtain the greatest publicity, so that persons who might be induced to enter into contracts for the ecclesiastical property in question, may not be able to plead ignorance.

(Signed)

R. ARCHEVEQUE DE NICEE,
Apostolic Nuncio.

Inclosure 2 in No. 196.

Cardinal Antonelli to the Representatives of Foreign Powers.

Gaeta, 19 Febbrajo, 1849.

QUELLA riunione di fazziosi, che usurpando il nome di deputati del popolo, si è stabilita nello capitale dello Stato Pontificio sotto il titolo di Assemblée Costituente Romana, progredendo con ardore da forsennati nel suo sistema di empietà, d'ingiustizia e di distruzione, si è affrettata in questi ultimi giorni ad occuparsi di un doppio progetto di legge, in cui tutti i beni posseduti dalle *mani morte* sono dichiarati proprietà dello Stato, con adottare intanto alcune disposizioni dirette ad assicurare l'effetto di quello stesso sacrilego spoglio di ogni proprietà mobile ed immobile che da esse si vuol decretare contro la chiesa e contro i più stabilimenti, senza veruna eccezione. Questo non meno che qualunque altro passato e futuro attentato de' fazziosi stessi trovansi già nella loro radice condannati, colle precedenti pubblicazioni del Santo Padre, e principalmente col solenne atto da esso emanato il 1° Gennajo. Ma prevedendosi le diaboliche arti ed astuzie delle quali si farà uso dagli autori del suddetto spoglio per trarne al più presto un profitto conforme alle interessate loro voglie, si è dal Santo Padre giudicato opportuno nella doppia sua rappresentanza di Sommo Pontefice e di Sovrano degli Stati Romani, diffidare tutti coloro che, ora o in avvenire, si trovassero nella circostanza di trattare in ordine alle proprietà suddette col sedicente Governo di Roma, o con chiunque abbia cansa da esso. Le disposizioni della Romana Assemblée delle quali si tratta, importano una violazione delle leggi civili antiche e moderne, che nei Pontifici domini principalmente hanno sempre garantito le proprietà della Chiesa e delle case pie; una violazione in fine dei sagri diritti della Chiesa di Gesù Cristo, e delle sanzioni da essa emanate per mantenere le sue proprietà, ed impedire che vengano distratte dagli usi religiosi o più ai quali sono destinate. Che se la sedicente Assemblée nella generalità delle parole colle quali si è espressa avesse voluto ferire le proprietà non solo pie od ecclesiastiche, ma quelle pure di università o fondazioni meramente laicali e civili, anche in questa parte le sue disposizioni sono sempre nulle di pieno diritto, perchè emanate da una mano di fazziosi i quali con ogni maniera di violenza, d'inganni, d'ingratitudine, hanno usurpato la legittima autorità per opprimere anzichè governare gli Stati di Santa Chiesa.

Vuole pertanto Sua Santità che si porti a notizia di tutti, e specialmente degli stranieri di qualunque stato o nazione, che le vendite, enfiteusi, alienazioni qualunque, come pure le costituzioni di ipoteche ed altri contratti di ogni natura che dalla sedicente Assemblée e Governo Romano o dagli aventi causa da esso si facessero intorno ai Beni Ecclesiastici stabili o mobili e sulle altre qualunque sianzi proprietà delle *mani morte*, sono e saranno pienamente nulli e di non valore, e dovranno considerarsi come fatti da chi con latrocinio pubblico e manifesto aveva usurpato le altrui sostanze. Quindi non vi sarà causa, pretesto, o motivo qualunque che valga in veruna parte a convalidarsi, ancorchè si trattasse di contratti soliti a farsi dalle chiese e stabilimenti cui detti beni appartengono, o di atti già iniziati dalla Pontificia autorizzazione, o da quella de' vescovi od altri legittimi superiori nei limiti delle rispettive competenze, mentre da ciò e da qualsivoglia altra circostanza non potrà mai inferirsi che un usurpatore manifesto possa fare eseguire o consumare quanto poteva unicamente effettuarsi dal

proprietario o dal legittimo amministratore. Quindi le chiese e gli altri stabilimenti di *manu morte* avranno in ogni tempo il diritto di ripetere le loro proprietà mobili e stabili immuni e libere da qualunque peso che vi si fosse voluto imporre dagli usurpatori, non che i frutti da esse prodotti nell' intervallo; nè quelli che le avessero comprate o fatto su di esse altra convenzione, potranno richiedere dai legittimi proprietari il prezzo stabilito od altro compenso, pel quale non rimarrà loro altra via che quella di rivolgere la loro azione contro gli usurpatori con cui avranno fatto i contratti.

In conseguenza di questa Pontificia manifestazione, il Sottoscritto, Cardinale Pro-Segretario di Stato, mentre per espresso comando del Santo Padre, ne rende consapevole vostra Eccellenza, la prega altresì a volerne dare sollecita comunicazione al suo Governo, affinchè il contenuto della presente nota abbia la maggiore possibile pubblicità mediante la quale diffidati coloro che si lasciassero indurre a far contratti intorno ai beni in discorso non possano allegarne ignoranza.

Il Sottoscritto, &c.

(Translation.)

Gaeta, February 19, 1849.

THAT assembly of factious men who, usurping the name of Deputies of the people, has taken possession of the capital of the Pontifical States, under the title of the Constituent Assembly of Rome, proceeding with the impetuosity of madmen in its system of impiety, injustice and destruction, has hastened lately to occupy itself with a double project of law, in which all property held by corporate bodies is declared appertaining to the State, adopting in the meanwhile such regulations as tend to carry into effect this sacrilegious robbery of moveable and immovable property, which it wishes to sanction by its decrees to the prejudice of the Church and of every pious establishment without exception. This and every other attempt past and to come of these factious men have from the beginning been condemned by former enunciations of the Holy Father, and particularly by the solemn act emanated from him on the 1st of January. But foreseeing the diabolical arts and cunning which will he had recourse to by the authors of this robbery in order as soon as possible to gain therefrom an advantage in accordance with their interested desires, the Holy Father has considered it proper, in his double capacity of High Pontiff and Sovereign of the Roman States, to warn all who now or in future may be in the case to treat regarding property with the self-styled Government of Rome or with any appointed by them. The measures of the Roman Assembly here mentioned constitute a violation of the civil laws, ancient and modern, which have ever, particularly in the Pontifical dominions, guaranteed the properties of the church and of pious institutions; a violation of the sacred rights of the church of Christ, and of the permissions granted by it to render its property intact, and impede its being used for other purposes except those of a religious and pious order according to the original intention. And if the self-instituted Assembly in the general course of words expressed by it should have wished to attack the properties, not only pious and ecclesiastic but also those of universities and institutions merely secular and civil, in this also its decrees are still devoid of any propriety, because they proceed from a handful of factious men who have usurped the legitimate authority by every manner of violence, trickery and ingratitude, in order to oppress, indeed to take into their hands the Government of the estates of the holy church.

His Holiness wishes, however, that it shall be brought to the knowledge of all, particularly to that of strangers of every State and nation, that whatever sales, rents or alienations of property, as also the arrangements of mortgage and other contracts of every nature which should be made by the self-called Assembly or Government of Rome or by those acting for them, regarding ecclesiastical property, moveable or immovable, and regarding all other property whatever held by corporate bodies, are and shall be totally null and void, and must be considered as done by those who have usurped the substance of others, by a public and manifest robbery. Thence there shall be no cause, pretext or motive of any kind which shall be allowed to be substantiated in any way, even though it regarded contracts usually made by the churches and institutions to which the said property belongs, or acts already begun with the Pontifical authoriza-

tion, or by that of Bishops or other legitimate superiors in the districts of their respective authorities; since neither from this nor from any other circumstance can a conclusion ever be drawn, that a public usurper should be considered to have the right to cause to be executed and fulfilled that which could only be effected by the proprietor or by the legitimate administrator.

Therefore the churches and the other property held by corporate bodies shall have in all times hereafter the right to reclaim their property, moveable or immoveable, exempt and free from every burden that the usurpers may have wished to lay upon it or upon the revenues produced in the interval; nor shall those who may have bought them or made on them other conditions, be allowed to demand from the legitimate proprietors the price fixed or other compensation, to obtain which latter they shall have no other way than that of turning their suits against the usurpers with whom they may have contracted.

In consequence of the Pontifical declaration, the Undersigned, Cardinal Pro-Secretary of State, has the express command of the Holy Father to make this known to your Excellency, and to request also that you will be pleased to communicate the same to your Government, in order that the contents of the present note shall have the greatest possible publicity, warned by which those who may allow themselves to be induced to make contracts on the property above mentioned should not be able to plead ignorance.

The Undersigned, &c.

No. 197.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 12.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 11, 1849.

M. MERCIER, who has filled the post of French Chargé d'Affaires at St. Petersburg, left Paris yesterday morning charged with a mission in the first place to Turin, to urge in the strongest manner upon the King of Sardinia the suicidal effect of his conduct in provoking at this moment a renewal of hostilities, and to make it as clear as possible to His Sardinian Majesty, that he must not expect the slightest countenance or support from France, should the result of a contest thus provoked be the invasion of his dominions by a victorious army.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 198.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, March 12, 1849.

I HAVE to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the language which you have held to the King of Sardinia, as to the calamities which might result from a renewal of hostilities with Austria.

Her Majesty's Government have learnt that the French Government have thought the danger of a renewal of hostilities by the King of Sardinia so imminent, that they have sent M. Mercier to Turin on a special mission most urgently to represent to the King of Sardinia the magnitude of the peril to which he would expose himself by so unjustifiable a course, and to declare to him formally that in such a contingency he must not look to France for assistance to rescue him from the reverses which he would have deliberately brought upon himself, and that he must in such case abide by the consequences, whatever they may be, of his own imprudence.

I have now to instruct you to seek an audience of His Sardinian Majesty, and to say that Her Majesty's Government, although fully sharing the sentiments of the French Government in regard to the supposed intentions of His Sardinian Majesty to recommence hostilities, have not thought it necessary to send a special Envoy to Turin for the purpose of again expressing to His Majesty their opinions on this subject, because you have already stated fully the view which Her Majesty's Government take of this most important matter. But you will say that you have been instructed to assure His Sardinian Majesty that Her Majesty's

Government fully approve everything which you have taken the liberty of submitting to the consideration of His Sardinian Majesty; that Her Majesty's Government also concur with the Government of France in those representations and remonstrances which M. Mercier has been specially sent to make; and that His Sardinian Majesty must not look to England any more than to France to secure him from the consequences of his own imprudence.

Her Majesty's Government still hope that Count Colloredo, who is now in London and who is to be the Austrian Plenipotentiary at the conferences of mediation, will shortly receive orders to repair to Brussels, and it would be an act of the greatest imprudence on the part of the King of Sardinia, to begin hostilities, which would, under any circumstances and at any time, be unwise with reference to probable results, and which at the present moment would in all respects be peculiarly unjustifiable.

No. 199.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 13.)

(Extract.)

Turin, March 8, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 2nd March of this year's series, instructing me to use on every proper occasion the arguments with which you have already furnished me, to persuade His Sardinian Majesty and his Government to abstain from committing the fatal error of renewing hostilities against Austria; and I shall not fail to follow to the utmost your Lordship's instructions upon this point. But I have already anticipated your instructions, and my conduct has been in conformity with your wishes as now expressed to me.

I must however declare to your Lordship that I fear the time is past when advice and recommendations, no matter how disinterested or sincerely friendly they may be, are calculated to produce any real effect upon the Sardinian Government with regard to the question of war.

The deplorable insatiation which prevails upon the questions of the realization of the Kingdom of Upper Italy, of fighting the Austrians and of driving them by force of arms from Italy, has completely warped judgment and good sense.

No. 200.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 13.)

My Lord,

Turin, March 8, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship translation of the address of the Chamber of Deputies to His Sardinian Majesty, in answer to His Majesty's speech on opening the session of the Sardinian Parliament on the 1st ultimo, together with the answer made to it by His Majesty.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 200.

Address of the Chamber of Deputies to the King of Sardinia, March 6, 1849.

(Translation.)

Sire,

1. CALLED upon in these most difficult times to watch over the interests of the nation, we are comforted by thinking of the wonderful accord which fortunately exists in this kingdom between the Prince and people, and which is a great element of force and the principal foundation of our hopes.

2. This accord, Sire, is due to the loyalty which you show in acknowledging and maintaining the rights of the nation, and to the generous zeal with which you have devoted to the cause of Italian independence your life and that of your sons.

3. Our first duty is to assure you of the lively and deep gratitude of the people, who by their love and approbation have confirmed and strengthened

your Crown. Nor will Italy, which will owe to you so great a part of her liberation, be ungrateful to you.

4. The first Parliament met in the joy caused by recent institutions, and in the exultation of victory. When adversity came on you remained firm in your magnanimous designs. And now, the nation consulted by you, and as well as you rendered stronger by adversity, persists in obtaining liberty and independence at any cost. We, Sire, are the representatives of these two principles.

5. You, by surrounding yourself with the most deserving of the people and conferring offices and honours to merit alone, and we, by using our best endeavours for the organisation of the finances, of the administration, of the national guard, and of public instruction, as well as of the other civil institutions, will give to the Democratic principle the greatest extension compatible with a state of war. But the Constituent Assembly of the kingdom alone can put our institutions in perfect harmony with the spirit and wants of the age.

6. Your Government has with praiseworthy intentions attempted to conclude between the different Italian States a powerful confederation which might take the lead in the future destinies of the nation. We trust that they will promote the union of the Italian people, whatever changes the recent events may have brought in the form of their Governments; and that, recognizing the right of every people to constitute themselves, they will if necessary oppose themselves to and protest against any intervention in Central Italy, and that they will obtain from those provinces their co-operation by all the means in their power in the national war.

7. We shall be assisted in the attainment of our independence by the sympathies of the civilized nations. The Government should try to contract more intimate ties with such countries as are liberally governed, and chiefly with those two Great Powers which have already given us proofs of friendship and of affection.

8. Let us stand by the generous Hungarians who are fighting a similar war against the same enemy. And when the neighbouring Slavonian people shall try to attain the dignity of a nation, let them obtain from us that assistance which the similarity of interests requires.

9. Encouraged by the energetic wishes of the nation, which can no longer bear the present fatal state of indecision, the Deputies of the people recommend to you, Sire, to put an end to the Armistice and to declare war. Let us have war, and that speedily. We trust in our arms. We have confidence in our arms alone and in the justice of our cause.

10. Let the army, our pride, and the hope of Italy, return to the fields which have witnessed its bravery, and let it retrieve by glorious deeds the reverses which it has suffered, and restore the fortune of our arms. Let the fleet, which by its heroic constancy has preserved Venice from the enemy's ships, promote by its powerful assistance the successes of the war, and let it renew in the Adriatic the deeds which formerly rendered Italian bravery famous on the seas.

11. You, Sire, have said, let us profit by our first trials, and let us be taught by experience. Let the skill of the generals and the experience of the administrators double the bravery of our soldiers by inspiring them with confidence. The reserves are ready to march, the army trained according to the rules of military discipline, the national guard organized and under arms; and wherever there may be danger let the exertions of the whole people secure victory for our banners.

12. Let us deliver that part of the kingdom which lies under foreign oppression and those brethren who are now suffering an unjust martyrdom, and who, as they have been constant and magnanimous in adversity, will prove strong and resolute friends when united to us. Let us hasten to assist the heroic Venice, which remains unconquered in her unequal struggle.

13. The nation is ready to make every sacrifice to recommence the great struggle. We have already conceded too much, and uselessly, to those who wish to maintain the peace of Europe. The greatest sacrifices will be light to us if made for the war.

After the reading of this speech His Majesty answered in the following terms:

Gentlemen,—I thank you for the sentiments which you have expressed to

me, and I beg that you will convey to the Chamber the expression of my gratefulness. I am delighted that so complete an accord exists in our country; this union of the whole people is the surest foundation for our successes.

You assure me that the nation is ready for every sacrifice: I assure you that the army is ready and in a most efficient state, and that nothing is dearer to me and to my sons than the national honour and independence of Italy.

No. 201.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 13.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 12, 1849.

I CALLED M. Drouyn de Lhuys' attention to those two supposed despatches of Prince Schwarzenberg's of the 17th of January which appeared in the "Times" of Saturday and have been copied into this morning's papers here. He told me that in that portion of them where any allusions were made to transactions in which he was concerned, they were not only inaccurate but in many respects directly the contrary of the fact. This was peculiarly the case as to the supposed suggestion of M. de la Cour for a General Congress. That suggestion had not come from M. de la Cour but from Prince Schwarzenberg himself; and the answer which was uniformly directed to be given was this: "At any rate first come to the conferences at Brussels for the specific object for which they have been established; treat if you please the question of the Pope there as connecting itself in some respect with that already on the tapis; we may afterwards have no objection to consider the question of a Congress; but before saying anything definite on that subject we must know who the parties should be, which should be the subjects treated, and in what sort of light we are expected to consider them." It appears therefore from M. de Lhuys' account, that the answer which these despatches put into the mouth of Prince Schwarzenberg was in fact given by M. Drouyn de Lhuys himself, whilst the proposal came from the other side.

The Minister says that whether these pretended pieces are newspaper inventions or their publication a diplomatic device, he should be able to prove their inaccuracy by despatches in his possession.

I have, &c.

(Signed) NORMANBY.

No. 202.

Sir Hamilton Seymour to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 14.)

(Extract.)

Lisbon, March 2, 1849.

IN consequence of instructions which had reached him on the 28th ultimo, the Internuncio waited yesterday upon Viscount de Castro, and on the part of the Pope requested that the armed assistance of Portugal might be afforded in conjunction with that of Austria, Spain, and Naples, for the purpose of re-establishing the spiritual authority of His Holiness in his dominions.

Upon leaving the Foreign Office, Monsignor di Pietro called upon me, and in a long conversation detailed to me the advantages which the particular mode of intervention which he had been instructed to press, for possessed over every other. The course which he now proposed could conduct only to peace; what had at other moments been thought of might, if acted upon, lead to general war.

He was aware that Portugal had no great force at her command, but the appearance of a Portuguese ship, of the "Vasco da Gama" he would say, on the Roman coast in company of a Spanish squadron, would produce the best effect.

He was eager that these views should meet with the concurrence of Her Majesty's Mission, and was the more disposed to count upon my approbation, as the Pope, although eager to be re-established in the plenitude of his spiritual authority by a joint act of the Catholic Powers, would be quite ready that the future condition of the Roman States should form the subject of deliberations at which he would be willing that an English Plenipotentiary should take part.

I told the Internuncio with the same frankness which he had shown in placing himself in communication with me, that I regretted to find that we differed so much as to the course to be followed with regard to Roman affairs. As respects the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, I knew it to be favourable to negotiation rather than to armed intervention. As regards Portugal, that I could understand that importance should be attached to her co-operation if all the other Catholic States of Europe were about to undertake a crusade on behalf of the Pope; but that to call upon her to make one of a quadruple expedition for such an object appeared to me to be preparing for a small Power already struggling with great difficulties, embarrassments the extent of which could not be calculated, and for which an adequate set-off would not be found in the amount of aid which it would be possible for Portugal to contribute to the undertaking.

The Internuncio appeared to think that the Portuguese Government had no option but to comply with his demand after the offer of assistance made to the Pope on the part of Her Most Faithful Majesty; but the Queen of Portugal's offer, if I am not much mistaken, related to a safe residence for the Pope, and not to a share in an armed intervention in his cause.

The pledges which Portugal might be called upon to redeem are, first, the offer made by Her Most Faithful Majesty to the Pope of a safe asylum; and secondly, a co-operation in any deliberation to be held by the Catholic States to consider the assistance which it might be possible to afford to the Pope for the re-establishment of his spiritual authority.

A few hours later I saw the Viscount de Castro and the Duke of Saldanha, to both of whom I expressed myself as I had done to the Internuncio, and who both concurred in my view of the case.

No. 203.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 14, 1849.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency the copy* of a despatch which was recently communicated to me by Count Colloredo, and in regard to which I had a conversation with Count Colloredo, of which he has of course given an account to his Government; but I said that I would instruct your Excellency to make a communication to Prince Schwarzenberg to the same effect as the substance of what I said to Count Colloredo.

The object of the inclosed despatch is to ask of His Majesty's Government, as one of the two parties who have offered their mediation between Austria and Sardinia, to give a positive and formal assurance that Her Majesty's Government will not in the conferences of mediation support the "*inqualifiables*" pretensions of the Sardinian Cabinet, but that on the contrary, Her Majesty's Government will repel those pretensions as inadmissible; and that Her Majesty's Government should adopt beforehand, as basis of the mediation, the maintenance of the territorial circumscriptions established by existing Treaties, as well with regard to Austria as with regard to the Duchies of Parma and Modena; and the despatch concludes by saying that this done, the Austrian Government will not hesitate an instant to send to their Plenipotentiary his full powers and an order to repair to Brussels.

In reply to this I have to instruct your Excellency to say that Her Majesty's Government have so often declared that they considered existing Treaties, and more especially the Treaty of Vienna of 1815, as determining the territorial rights of the States of Europe, that they could scarcely have expected that it could be necessary for them again to renew such a declaration; and certainly it is not the British Government that can be charged with having forgotten or infringed the stipulations of those Treaties. Her Majesty's Government however can have no hesitation in saying that they consider those Treaties applicable to Austria, Parma, and Modena, as well as to those other territories in Europe to which the provisions of those Treaties relate.

With regard to the other formal and positive assurance which the Austrian

* See No. 167.

Government are desirous of receiving from the Government of Her Majesty, your Excellency is instructed to observe that the giving of such an assurance would be incompatible with the very nature of the position and functions of a mediator in a negotiation. The essential character of a mediator is impartiality. Without that character a mediator could not enjoy the confidence of both parties, and without that confidence his efforts to make peace would be unavailing. A mediator who should declare himself beforehand in favour of one side and against the other, would become a partisan, and the negotiation in which he was so concerned would cease to be a mediation, and would assume a very different character. But Her Majesty's Government have not offered their services either to Austria or Sardinia in the capacity of a partisan. They have in conjunction with the Government of France tendered their good offices to the contending parties, with the earnest hope that the interposition of Great Britain and France might be of avail to bring about a reconciliation, which if the contending parties were to negotiate directly with each other, might not be so easily arrived at. Her Majesty's Government cannot consent to quit the position which they have taken up, and must decline hindering themselves beforehand by any declaration in favour of or against either of the two parties. But Austria will enter into the negotiation as freely as Great Britain will, in conjunction with France, undertake the mediation. Austria will be free to propose, to argue, and to reject, as may suit her interests and opinions; and Her Majesty's Government in declining to fetter themselves by any preliminary engagement, only claim for themselves that same necessary freedom which they fully acknowledge for the Government of Austria.

Her Majesty's Government must again most earnestly entreat the Austrian Government not any longer to delay carrying into execution the engagement which it contracted so long ago as last August. I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 204.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 14.)

(Extract.)

Turin, March 9, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Marquis Colli has resigned the seals of the Sardinian Foreign Office Department, and that he has been succeeded in his office by Signor de Ferrari, a Genoese.

M. de Ferrari not having as yet officially announced his entrance upon the duties of his office, I have not had an opportunity of conversing with him, but I hope to do so to-morrow.

No. 205.

The Marquis of Normanby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 16.)

(Extract.)

Paris, March 15, 1849.

PRIVATE letters from Italy state that the Armistice was to be denounced on the 13th; the Kiag was to be at Alexandria on the 14th, on which day it was intended that Romarino, at the head of a corps of 14,000 Lombards in the Piedmontese service, should first cross the frontier; and an action was expected somewhere between the Tessin and Milan about the 19th. The whole population of Lombardy was in a great state of excitement.

No. 206.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir Hamilton Seymour.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 16, 1849.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 2nd instant, reporting the substance of a conversation which you have had with the Papal Nuncio at Lisbon upon the subject of instructions which he has received to press for the armed

assistance of Portugal in conjunction with that of Austria, Spain, and Naples, for the purpose of re-establishing the spiritual authority of the Pope in his dominions; and I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government approve the language which you held to the Nuncio on that occasion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 207.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 16.)

My Lord,

Venice, March 3, 1849.

THE following is a short abstract of the reports made by the three chiefs of the Provisional Government, Messrs. Manin, Cavedalis, and Graziani, to the Assembly of Representatives now sitting in Venice.

From the report on the finances made by Signor Manin, it appears that on the 11th August last (the day when the Piedmontese Commissioners withdrew, and the Government of Venice was vested in the hands of Signor Manin as Dictator) there were 820,874 livres in the hands of the Government, while the daily expenses exceeded 100,000 livres. The average exchange is 30 livres per pound sterling.

All persons were forthwith required to give up the articles of gold and silver in their possession and a national bank was immediately established, while an earnest appeal was made to the rest of Italy; and a national loan of 10,000,000 livres was opened in shares of 500 livres each, of which however shares to the amount of 516,175 livres only were sold.

A promise was made by Genoa to take 2000 shares, which promise has not yet been fulfilled, while various contributions, the amount of which is not stated, have been received from Tuscany and the Romagna.

Two loans (forced) of 3,000,000 livres each were subsequently raised from the citizens of Venice, and the bank issued paper-money to that amount on the security of bills given by the contributors, a portion of which bills has since been paid up in specie, and paper-money to a corresponding amount destroyed.

With these means the Government was enabled to proceed until the end of November last, when it became necessary to have recourse to other measures to obtain money.

A loan of 12,000,000 livres was then raised, to be repaid by means of an additional tax of 25 per cent. on real property, in the manner reported in my despatch of November 26, 1848.

Great inconvenience arising from the want of specie, and the paper-money being unavailable out of Venice, the other Italian Governments not having consented to accept it, another appeal was made to the inhabitants, and a Commission appointed to exchange paper-money against silver, in order to create a fund to enable buyers to purchase objects of first necessity at a fair exchange.

This Commission collected 450,000 livres, to which the Government added 150,000 from its own funds, and 150,000 taken from the Monte di Pietà. (See despatch of January 28.)

A subsidy of 600,000 francs a-month has been voted by the Parliament of Turin, but not yet received.

The expenses of the Government from the 22nd of March to 12th August, 1848, were in round numbers 21,000,000, while the expenses for a similar period, i.e. from 12th August to 31st December, amounted to 14,000,500, owing to the economy introduced in the administration.

From the report on the navy it appears that the number of sailors and marines amounts to 4,845, while great exertions have been made and are making in the arsenal in fitting out vessels of war.

Negotiations are in progress for the purchase of engines for a steam-vessel, the vessel itself to be constructed in the arsenal, while great progress is making in collecting subscriptions for the purchase of another steam-vessel. A frigate of 24 guns, two brigs, and one schooner, have been thoroughly repaired and refitted and are ready to leave the arsenal, while great progress has been made in the construction of a new schooner, a brig, and a large frigate, the "Italia," the canons for which latter vessel have been ordered in a foreign country.

From the report of the Minister of War it appears that the force of all arms in Venice on the 11th August consisted, exclusive of national guards and regiments of marines, of 19,855 men, while it now consists of 16,430, namely:—

Venetian Infantry and Cavalry	. . .	11,600
Staff, Artillery, Engineers, Hospital Staff	. . .	3,000
Italians from other parts of Italy	. . .	1,830
		<hr/> 16,430

This diminution is caused by the departure of the Roman division and various volunteers, whose place has only been in part supplied by recruits from the mainland.

Recruiting however still goes on, and an increase of 3000 men is being made.

The number of pieces of cannon mounted on the different forts and islands in the Lagune amounts to 550.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 208.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 17.)

(Extract.)

Florence, March 5, 1849.

I AM happy to inform your Lordship that the military law promulgated on the 28th ultimo, which placed the lives of every Tuscan citizen in the hands of a commission without appeal, has been abrogated.

The Government have availed themselves of an alarm caused by the reported assembling of Modenese and Austrian troops on the frontier, to decree the armament and enrolment for the defence of the country of all young men from the age of eighteen to thirty.

General Count de Laugier, who to the last remained faithful to his Sovereign, has written from Sarzana, where he has taken refuge with fifty men still faithful to their standard. He states that he possesses the nucleus for forming an army, to which numbers would flock if he had the means of paying them.

I have now the honour to inclose a translation of a declaration made to the Diplomatic Body by the Grand Duke on leaving his dominions, which I omitted to forward to your Lordship by the last opportunity.

Inclosure in No. 208.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany to the Members of the Diplomatic Body accredited in Tuscany.

(Translation.)

Porto Santo Stefano, February 20, 1849.

SINCE my declaration of 11th February, directed to the whole Diplomatic Body accredited in Tuscany, I have had the satisfaction to see myself surrounded by the respected members composing that body. From their arrival I derived consolation, not so much on account of their kind words, or of the cordial sentiments expressed by each of them, as on account of the manifest signification which their presence around me gave to the posture of affairs in Tuscany.

At the same time that I render to the honourable members of the Diplomatic Body my most distinguished and sincere thanks, I am obliged to inform them that my further sojourn in this extreme port of Tuscany is now become impossible.

It has been known some days that threats have been made to come and drive me from hence by force of arms. Now it is certain that these threats have become reality.

The public newspapers have made this public. Already a strong body of armed men, guided by chiefs not Tuscans, are on the way to Grosseto. What more is wanting? The discharge of cannon from the neighbouring town of Orbitello announces the completion of the traitorous crime,—the proclamation of the Republic.

In this emergency I must adopt a resolution which, although most bitter to my heart, is yet the only alternative left.

I depart from my beloved country, but there my heart remains. I pray God to illuminate the spirit of the wicked and of the misled, and to give consolation to the good, who are perhaps in much larger numbers than what is perhaps thought. I beg the Diplomatic Body to testify to the unavoidable cause which obliges me to quit Tuscany, and bear witness to the sentiments which I feel in taking this last step. I leave to Providence the care of changing the times to a better future.

(Signed) LEOPOLD.

No. 209.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 17.)

(Extract.)

Florence, March 5, 1849.

I UNDERSTAND that the Republican Government of Rome hold very determined language as to their intended proceedings in the event of an intervention taking place by the Austrians, Neapolitans, or Spaniards, for the purpose of restoring the temporal power of the Pope at Rome.

Your Lordship is I believe already aware that all the Church property has been confiscated for the use of the State, and that it is rumoured even charitable endowments will not be spared. All church bells not absolutely necessary are to be used for casting cannon.

The Republican Government state that the Pope shall only enter Rome for the re-establishment of his temporal dominion over "the ruins of the city."

No. 210.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 17.)

(Extract.)

Florence, March 5, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith the copy of a letter and the translation of it, that I have received from M. Rusconi, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Roman Republic, requesting me, in the name of humanity, to procure from the Austrian authorities in Lombardy the restitution of the six hostages that have been lately taken from Ferrara as a guarantee for the payment of the 200,000 dollars levied on that town.

I have stated to M. Rusconi in reply, that although I sincerely regret the fate of the unfortunate individuals in question, I did not think myself authorized to take such steps for their release as he proposed, but that I had made the case known to Her Majesty's Government.

Inclosure in No. 210.

M. Rusconi to Sir George Hamilton.

Signore,

Roma, 1 Marzo, 1849.

IL buon volere, la dignità, colla quale ella concorse l' 8 Agosto a interporre, di conserva coi suoi colleghi del Corpo Diplomatico risiedente in Firenze, i suoi buoni uffizi per allontanare da Bologna il flagello, che l'improvvido Maresciallo Welden credea tenerle sospeso sopra, mi muovono di nuovo a interessarla vivamente, a nome dell'umanità, affinché ella di nuovo frapponga l'opera sua contra un nemico, non meno del Welden spregievole a detestato. Un Haynau

che s'intitola, non sappiamo se Maresciallo o Generale, dopo aver rubato in Ferrara 200 mila scudi, ha trasportato con se, partendo, sei ottimi cittadini, ch'egli intende tutelar debbano l'innovazioni da lui in Ferrara ordinate.

Io non scendo a commenti sul fatto, o Signore, perchè chi ruba, sfugge a tutte quelle norme con cui si misurano le azioni di questa terra. Ma la cattura di quei sei Ferraresi può dar luogo a crudeli rappresaglie, ed è per evitare queste ed è per conservare pura e santa la nostra rivoluzione, che io l'interesse a redimere quelle vittime d'una barbaria snaturata. L'Italia, Signore, combatte una guerra leale; combatte la guerra degli oppressi contro i tiranni. Essa non depreda gli averi, non rapisce onesti cittadini, non sgozza le donne; queste opera lascia al Croato, e son degne in vero di lui e della causa ch' ci sostiene. Ma le Potenze civili d'Europa debbono stigmatizzare d'infamia tali atrocità, e stender soccorrevole la mano a chi soffre pel più santo degli amori, quello della patria.

Questa convinzione corroborata in me dal sentimento che questa età di lumi è fatta per ispirare, mi ha mosso a scriverle e pregarla caldamente, a nome di questa repubblica a intromettere i validi suoi uffizj, onde i sei ostaggi di Ferrara siano rendute al loro paese. L'umanità dettò questo atto, di cui mi feci organo presso di lei, il sentimento dei nostri mille oltraggi detterà poscio quelli che valgano a reintegrare l'Italia dalle perpetue gravezze e inorrezze a cui un nemico sleale l'assoggetta.

Persuasio ch'ella vorrà assumersi il nobile uffizio, a cui l'esorto, con tutto quello zelo che seppe in alta circostanza spiegare, coi sensi della più viva gratitudine, &c.

(Firmato) CARLO RUSCONI.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Rome, March 1, 1849.

THE good will and dignity with which you joined, in concert with your colleagues of the Diplomatic Body resident in Florence, on the 8th August, to interpose your good offices for the purpose of removing from Bologna the scourge which the incautious Marshal Welden conceived that he held over it, induce me earnestly to interest you in the name of humanity, in order that you should again interpose your good offices against an enemy not less contemptible nor detested than Welden. A certain Haynau, who entitles himself, we know not whether Marshal or General, after having robbed Ferrara of 200,000 scudi, has carried off with him on his departure, six excellent citizens, who he intends shall guarantee the innovations ordered by him in Ferrara.

I do not, Sir, descend to make comments on the fact, because he who robs does not come under those rules by which this world's actions are measured. But the capture of these six Ferrarese may give rise to cruel reprisals, and it is to avoid these and to preserve our revolution pure and holy, that I interest you to redeem these victims of unnatural barbarity. Italy, Sir, is engaged in a loyal war, the war of the oppressed against tyrants. She plunders not property, she does not kidnap honest citizens, she makes no massacres of women. These deeds she leaves to the Croat, and they are truly worthy of him and of the cause which he sustains. But the civilised Powers of Europe ought to stigmatise such atrocities as infamous, and hold out the hand of succour to those who suffer for the holiest of loves—the love of country.

This conviction, strengthened in me by the feelings which this enlightened age cannot fail to inspire, has induced me to write to you, and to intreat you warmly in the name of this Republic, to interpose your powerful good offices in order that the six hostages of Ferrara may be restored to their country. Humanity dictated this act, of which I have made myself the instrument with you. The consciousness of the thousand outrages offered us may perhaps rouse those who may be able to save Italy from the perpetual oppression and enormities to which a dishonourable enemy subjects her.

Persuaded that you will consent to undertake this noble mission, to which I exhort you with all the zeal displayed by you in similar circumstances, with feelings of the most lively gratitude, I have, &c.

(Signed) CARLO RUSCONI.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 17.)

My Lord,

Turin, March 12, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Lordship that preparations have been made for the departure of His Sardinian Majesty and of the members of his personal staff for Alexandria on Wednesday next.

The garrison of Turin, consisting of the 1st and 2nd Regiments of Savoy, the 23rd Regiment of infantry, composed of Lombards and Parmesans, and the regiment of Savoy cavalry, all quit the capital for the army in the course of the week; the maintenance of public order in Turin will be confided to the Civic Guard; a better and safer arrangement than at first contemplated of placing the town in the hands of the Lombard corps.

I expect that the Armistice will be denounced by the Piedmontese on His Majesty's arrival at the head-quarters of the army at Alexandria, and it may therefore be shortly my duty to inform your Lordship that notwithstanding the earnest and unceasing attempts of Her Majesty's Government and of that of France to convince the Sardinian Government of the madness of its project, and of the ruin which it is more than probable it will entail upon this country, the rash and ill-judged step has been taken of recommencing hostilities against Austria.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R.A. ABERCROMBY.

P.S.—The Queen, the Duchess of Savoy, and the Royal children, will take up their residence during His Majesty's absence at the chateau of Moncalieri.

R. A.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 18.)

My Lord,

Turin, March 13, 1849, 10 P.M.

I HAVE just received the inclosed note from M. de Ferrari, communicating to me the reasons which have induced His Sardinian Majesty and his Government to come to the decision of denouncing the Armistice concluded at Milan on the 9th of August last between the Chief of the Staff of the Piedmontese army and Field-Marshal Count Radetzky.

The Sardinian Minister for Foreign Affairs does not in the inclosed note positively announce that hostilities are to be renewed by the Piedmontese army in consequence of the Armistice having been denounced, and it is possible that the Sardinian Government may only have contemplated by the present measure securing for themselves the right to profit by any favourable opportunity that may offer, or by thus threatening to renew the war to press the Governments of Great Britain and of France to increased exertion in behalf of the interests of Sardinia in their negotiations with Austria; for your Lordship will observe that the Cabinet of Turin expressly declares that notwithstanding this act they do not renounce the benefits of the mediation of the two Governments of Great Britain and of France, and that they will receive any overtures for an honourable peace.

Your Lordship will be able to judge how far these suppositions are probable, but it appears to me that if the Sardinian Government had not the intention of renewing hostilities, and only desired by this threat to give fresh impulse to the action of the mediation, they would not have delayed communicating to my French colleague and myself their intention of denouncing the Armistice until thirty-four hours of the eight days had already elapsed after the denunciation had actually taken place, for by so doing they have rendered impossible the interference of the mediating Powers before the moment when hostilities might recommence.

The Armistice was denounced yesterday the 12th instant at noon.

I have considered this news to be too important to wait for the ordinary post of to-morrow, and I therefore send it by estafette to Paris.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R.A. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 212.

*M. de Ferrari to the Hon. R. Abercromby.**Turin, le 13 Mars, 1849.*

LE Soussigné, &c., s'empresse de faire connaître à son Excellence Mr. Abercromby, &c., les résolutions qui viennent d'être prises par le Gouvernement du Roi.

Il convient de rappeler qu'à la suite des revers éprouvés par l'armée Piémontaise à la fin de Juillet et dans les premiers jours du mois d'Août de l'année dernière, le Chef de l'Etat-Major-Général avait fait avec le Général Radetzky une convention qui excédait les limites d'un armistice militaire, en s'obligeant à l'évacuation de tout le territoire qui avait été adjugé à l'Autriche en vertu des Traités de 1815, et à la cession de plusieurs places fortes qui ne pouvaient pour lors être sérieusement menacées. Cet armistice, n'ayant été contresigné par aucun Ministre responsable, n'avait point de caractère politique, comme le Conseil s'empresse de déclarer à toutes les Puissances. Mais bientôt la médiation qui fut offerte par l'Angleterre et par la France, fit naître l'espérance de terminer par une paix honorable cette lutte, qui pouvait coûter de très grands sacrifices. Pour atteindre ce but, le Gouvernement du Roi consentit à la continuation de l'Armistice, en se faisant un devoir de s'y conformer avec une parfaite exactitude. Au contraire, les chefs de l'armée Autrichienne en violèrent bientôt les conditions les plus importantes. Ils retirèrent, contre ce qui avait été expressément convenu, une partie considérable de l'artillerie Sarde; ils rétablirent dans les pays par eux occupés toutes les autorités civiles et les lois de la Monarchie Autrichienne, oubliant que l'Armistice ne pouvait leur donner d'autre droit que celui d'une simple occupation militaire; ils commirent enfin des excès déplorables contre les biens et les personnes des émigrés et des habitants, sans égard à la convention qui autorisait tout citoyen à s'absenter, et qui plaçait sous la protection des forces Autrichiennes ceux qui auraient préféré rester paisiblement chez eux.

L'Autriche a en outre poussé l'abus de la force jusqu'au point de rétablir à Modène et à Reggio le pouvoir de l'ancien Duc, qui n'avait eu aucune part à l'Armistice.

Il y a d'ailleurs près de huit mois que le Piémont supporte toutes les charges de la guerre sans en avoir les avantages. Il serait impossible de prolonger cette situation désastreuse.

Le Cabinet de Vienne tout en acceptant la médiation, montra jusqu'à l'évidence qu'il n'avait d'autre but que de gagner du temps, mettre ordre à ses affaires dans les autres parties de l'Empire, et tomber ensuite avec toutes ses forces sur l'Italie, après que l'on aurait épuisé dans une vaine attente les ressources qui doivent servir pour la défense du pays.

La suspension d'armes produisit en outre un effet fort dangereux en ce qu'elle laissa aux partis extrêmes le temps de mûrir leurs projets subversifs, et de menacer l'existence de la Monarchie Constitutionnelle, forme de Gouvernement qui avait été reçue avec enthousiasme par toute la Péninsule, et qui est, plus qu'aucune autre, en rapport avec les mœurs et les habitudes des Italiens. Quoique le Roi Charles Albert trouve dans l'amour de ses peuples l'appui le plus solide, il doit éviter avec soin tout ce qui peut affaiblir la confiance qu'inspire son Gouvernement, et produire par suite la guerre civile.

C'est par tous ces motifs que le Roi a décidé de dénoncer l'Armistice qu'il avait jusqu'ici religieusement observé. La dénonciation a eu lieu hier à midi.

En communiquant ces motifs au Représentant du Gouvernement Anglais, le Soussigné déclare que le Gouvernement du Roi n'entend point renoncer au bénéfice de la médiation, et qu'il sera toujours disposé à accepter les conditions d'une paix honorable, sous les auspices des deux grands peuples qui ont montré pour les Etats Sardes et pour la cause Italienne une généreuse sympathie.

Le Gouvernement du Roi a crû même que la cessation de l'Armistice donnerait plus de force aux offres amicales de l'Angleterre et de la France, en décidant enfin l'Autriche à accepter la médiation avec la sincérité et la confiance que les Puissances médiatrices méritent à un si haut point.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé)

DE FERRARI.

(Translation.)

Turin, March 13, 1849.

THE Undersigned, &c., hastens to communicate to his Excellency Mr. Abercromby, &c., the resolutions which have been taken by the King's Government.

It is proper to recite that after the reverses experienced by the Piedmontese army at the end of July and in the first days of August of last year, the Chief of the Staff had concluded with General Radetzky a convention which went beyond the limits of a military armistice, in engaging for the evacuation of the whole territory which had been assigned to Austria in virtue of the Treaties of 1815, and for the cession of various fortresses which could not at that time be seriously threatened. That Armistice not having been countersigned by any responsible Minister, possessed no political character, as the Council hastened to declare to all the Powers. But presently the mediation offered by England and by France gave rise to the hope of terminating by an honourable peace that contest, which might occasion the greatest sacrifices. For the attainment of that object the King's Government consented to a prolongation of the Armistice, making it its duty to adhere to it with the utmost exactness. On the other hand the chiefs of the Austrian army violated many of its most important conditions. They retained, contrary to express agreement, a considerable portion of the Sardinian artillery; they re-established in the countries occupied by them all the civil authorities and the laws of the Austrian Monarchy, forgetting that the Armistice could confer on them no other right than that of a mere military occupation; lastly, they committed deplorable excesses against the properties and persons of the emigrants and of the inhabitants, without regard to the Convention which authorized every citizen to absent himself, and which placed under the protection of the Austrian forces those who should prefer to remain peaceably at home.

Austria has moreover carried the abuse of force to the extent of re-establishing at Modena and at Reggio the power of the ancient Duke, who had had no part in the Armistice.

Besides, Piedmont for more than eight months has supported all the expenses of war without its benefits. It would be impossible to prolong this disastrous state of things.

The Cabinet of Vienna, while it accepted the mediation, clearly showed that it had no other object than to gain time, in order to arrange its affairs in the other parts of the empire, and afterwards to fall with all its force upon Italy, after she should have exhausted, during a period of useless expectation, the resources which should serve for the defence of the country.

Moreover, the suspension of arms was attended with a very dangerous result, inasmuch as it afforded to the extreme parties time to mature their destructive projects, and to menace the existence of the Constitutional Monarchy, a form of Government which had been received with enthusiasm by the whole Peninsula, and which, more than any other, is consonant with the manners and habits of the Italians. Although the King Charles Albert finds in the love of his people the firmest support, he must carefully avoid everything which can weaken the confidence inspired by his Government, and consequently produce civil war.

For all these reasons the King has resolved to denounce the Armistice, which up to this time he had scrupulously observed. The denunciation took place yesterday at noon.

In communicating these reasons to the Representative of the English Government, the Undersigned declares that the King's Government has no intention to renounce the benefit of the mediation, and that it will always be disposed to accept the conditions of an honourable peace, under the auspices of the two great people who have shown a generous sympathy for the Sardinian States and for the Italian cause.

The King's Government has even thought that the cessation of the Armistice would give greater weight to the friendly offers of England and of France, by finally determining Austria to accept the mediation with the sincerity and the confidence which the mediating Powers so justly deserve.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) DE FERRARI.

No. 213.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 18.)

(Extract.)

Florence, March 10, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a despatch from Mr. Petre at Rome, of the 8th instant.

A deputation of three members has left Rome for Florence.

Inclosure in No. 213.

Mr. Petre to Sir George Hamilton.

(Extract.)

Rome, March 8, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you for the information of Viscount Palmerston, that the Constituent Assembly, in its sitting of the 6th instant voted what it called the "unification," in preference to the word "union," of the Roman and Tuscan people under a Republican Government.

The "Monitore Romano" of yesterday evening the 7th, in its non-official part, in anticipation it says, publishes the resolution of the Assembly on this question.

The Assembly invites the Tuscan people to send the Deputies of the Tuscan Constituent to sit amongst them, in order to decree the "fundamental form of their common life."

A deputation of three members of the Assembly has already set out to take the invitation to the Tuscan people.

A party has been made against Signor Sterbini in the Assembly, and he has resigned.

No. 214.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 19.)

My Lord,

Vienna, March 13, 1849.

THERE was a "Te Deum" on Sunday in the Cathedral, and a great parade of the troops, who passed in review before Baron Welden. The city was illuminated at night in celebration of the Constitution, with which it seems that the better sort of people are well satisfied in these parts, and which it is said gives satisfaction wherever it has been promulgated.

The Republican party is silent through fear, and the Government will continue to keep strict watch and guard over the evil-disposed, and will preserve the peace of those who are not so.

There was an application made by some students to be allowed to celebrate high mass for those who fell this day last year in the *émeute*. General Welden refused to grant permission. The students assembled in St. Stephen's Place (not in great numbers), clothed in mourning and other symbols of grief, and a large crowd gathered round, probably from curiosity. Some troops were called out, who dispersed the mourners and others. Five persons were arrested.

Some of those who were the instruments in the assassination of General Latour on the 6th of October last will be publicly executed.

The affair of the Pope remains unaltered. The Austrians have proposed to the French Government to effect his restoration, and the Austrians have promised to content themselves with moving some troops to Bologna at the same time, and to withdraw them into their own territories whenever the French shall have completed the work at Rome, which the Austrians think will be an easy task requiring but little time. The French have not, so far as we know, accepted the proposal.

I beg leave to observe that it is of great importance that this matter of intervention at Rome should be settled if possible by some conjoint operation; we have no knowledge of anything of the sort; and I can assure your Lordship

that if it be not settled, the Austrians will at last take the thing upon themselves and march troops to Rome. It is obvious this may produce very disagreeable consequences, and possibly endanger the general peace.

The Austrians, however, think the restoration of the Pope of so much importance, that they will act as I have said, if necessary. Under these circumstances I think it most desirable to gain time, and I have urged the Minister to delay as long as possible taking any decisive measure. I am happy to say that he will temporise as long as possible. He certainly approves of it.

There is nothing new to-day from Piedmont, except the account that the Government has moved troops apparently with an intention to act somewhere. Your Lordship will have information which is not in possession of this Government.

The Austrians have a considerable force ready near their own frontiers under the command of Baron d'Aspre, an excellent officer. Whenever the Piedmontese move out of their territories, the Austrians will take the means necessary to watch their proceedings. The Imperial Government has information which convinces it that Charles Albert is in the hands of the violent party predominant in the second Chamber at Turin, and that His Majesty is for war.

You may be sure, however, that the Austrians will not be the aggressors, if they can help it, for they know that it is much for their advantage that the Piedmontese should be so. It will be difficult for France or any other Power, to question the right of self-defence.

I regret that affairs are in such a critical situation, that whilst Governments are anxious for peace, events may occasion war; one of them now threatening may be more likely to be avoided, if the surrender of Palermo to the Neapolitans shall place the King of Naples more at liberty to employ his army for the re-establishment of the Pope. The work would then be done by Italians, and many jealousies be avoided. The Russian Minister at Naples, Count Chreptowich, in a letter dated March 5 states the surrender of Palermo.

The Austrians are increasing their army and strengthening themselves. They are sure of Russian support if war should come, but will not seek it. What may happen in Germany cannot be predicted.

I think there is danger there, but hope that the operation of time may be beneficial, and I hope that the Imperial Government will endeavour to temporize in that quarter as well as elsewhere.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 215.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 19, 1849.

I RECEIVED last night your despatch of the 13th instant, inclosing a copy of a note from the Sardinian Minister for Foreign Affairs, acquainting you with the reasons which had induced His Sardinian Majesty's Government to denounce on the 12th instant the Armistice which has been in force since the 9th of August last.

I have to refer you to my despatch of the 12th instant on this subject, and to instruct you, in addition to what is therein contained, to express to the Sardinian Minister the deep regret of Her Majesty's Government at the step thus taken by the Cabinet of Turin; but you will also say that Her Majesty's Government still hope that hostilities will nevertheless not be begun. You will moreover lose no opportunity which may offer to procure a fresh cessation of arms if hostilities should actually commence.

I propose to send a copy of your despatch without delay to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna with instructions to explain to the Austrian Government the qualifying parts of the Sardinian Minister's note, and to say that Her Majesty's Government hope that the prompt arrival of the Austrian Plenipotentiaries at Brussels may enable the Conference to begin negotiations, and thus prevent the renewal of the war in Italy.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 19.)

(Extract.)

Florence, March 12, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a declaration addressed to Europe by the Provisional Government of Tuscany, in consequence of the protest sent by the Grand Duke to the Diplomatic Body at Florence.

Inclosure in No. 216.

Declaration of the Provisional Government of Tuscany.

Alla Europa

Firenze, 4 Marzo, 1849.

NOI sottoscritti, rappresentanti un popolo innocentissimo, avendo considerata la protesta diretta da Leopoldo di Austria ai membri del Corpo Diplomatico di Toscana, datata da Porto Santo Stefano il 20 febbrajo, 1849, sentiamo l'obbligo di dichiarare sopra l'anima nostra, e con quella fede a cui noi non abbiamo mai mancato fin qui, ed a cui, ajutandoci Dio, noi non mancheremo giammai come :

Leopoldo accettasse spontaneo il programma Ministeriale ; più volte dichiarando sotto fede di uomo onesto non farlo per costrizione che soffrisse, ma per atto di spontanea volontà.

Più tardi si mostrò perplesso alquanto a firmare la Legge della Costituente Italiana, ma dopo lunghissima conferenza tenuta con F. D. Guerrazzi, e con persona autorevole appartenente ad estera Potenza, di perplesso diventò voglioso, così, che firmatala immediatamente la consegnava al prefato Guerrazzi, onde egli e i suoi colleghi la presentasse alle Camere, e la discussione ne sostenessero.

In seguito egli parti da Firenze senza annunziare la sua risoluzione al Consiglio dei Ministri, dandone soltanto avviso al Ministro di Finanza, il quale si condusse casualmente al Palazzo Pitti per fargli firmare una legge importante, nella notte precedente alla di lui partenza.

Il Ministero udite le notizie che si spargevano intorno alla partenza del Principe qualificata come fuga, gl' invid lettera mediante la quale si dichiarava che ove nel più breve termine possibile non si fosse restituito nel seno della capitale, si compiacesse accettare la sua dimissione. I rispettabili Signori Cavalieri Corradino Ghigi, Generale della Guardia Civica Fiorentina, e Ubaldino Peruzzi, Gonfaloniere di Firenze, partirono alla volta di Siena per consigliare al Principe lo immediato ritorno, e dopo breve intervallo di tempo si ricondussero a Firenze riferendo averlo trovato giacente infermo, essere stati assicurati del suo proponimento e el sollecito ritorno, raccomandare loro indurre il Ministero a non dipartirsi dal Governo dello Stato, desiderare circondarsi del Ministero stesso, e se di tutto non fosse stato possibile, almeno di parte.

Quello che poi avvenisse è noto per le dichiarazioni emesse solennemente davanti alle Camere del Parlamento Toscano.

Ed è noto egualmente,

1. Che contro le sue promesse favellate e scritte, reiterate più volte davanti spettabili gentiluomini celatamente senza consiglio, e senza motivo si sottraeva a modo di fuggiasco da Siena.

2. Che non indicò il luogo del suo ritiro, ed anzi dai suoi documenti diretti al Ministero, faceva comprendere che nè egli medesimo lo sapesse.

3. Che non istituiva Governo Provvisorio perocchè se fosse stato così egli non avrebbe raccomandato al Ministero la cura del paese, dei suoi servitori, e delle sue masserizie.

4. Che si trasferì al Porto di Santo Stefano e di là con lettera e mandato il Generale Laugier tentò accendere in Toscana la guerra civile, chiamando di più in soccorso le milizie Piemontesi.

5. Che dopo la dimora di qualche giorno in Santo Stefano lasciò il territorio Toscano.

Dai quali fatti discendono le seguenti conclusioni :

1. Leopoldo d'Austria non ebbe motivo di lamentarsi del suo Ministero da cui fu appoggiato con lo zelo e il coraggio che solo il popolo conoscono, e per gli atti del quale era salito nella estimazione dei Toscani e di Italia tutta. Nessuno gli fece ingiuria, nessuno gli mancò di ossequio; la stampa stessa severa troppo e troppo licenziosa per altrui si mantenne verso la sua persona nei limiti di rispettosa riservatezza.

2. In virtù dello Statuto Costituzionale egli non poteva abbandonare il paese nè costituire un Governo Provvisorio, molto più senza addurre pretesto alcuno di violenza, d'ingiuria, e solo come egli ha dichiarato per un pauroso sospetto di non potere manifestare lo scrupolo che gli era nato d'incorrere nella censura Pontificia, come se gli Stati si regolassero con i casi di coscienza, e la considerazione di immergere il paese in deplorabili calamità nell' animo del Principe Cristiano non dovesse avere maggior peso dei consigli, che forse sopra inesatta informazione, gli dava non il Capo Spirituale della Cattolicità, ma il Principe temporale di Roma.

3. Qualunque sieno le proteste in contrario, Leopoldo colla sua permanenza in Santo Stefano ebbe il fine di ritornare più come Sovrano assoluto che costituzionale in Toscana, fondandosi:

a. Sopra lo sbigottimento del popolo, dell' Assemblea, e del Ministero.

b. Sopra la guerra civile.

c. Sopra le armi straniere.

Il Popolo, le Assemblee, e il Ministero non si sbigottirono; accettarono con animo fermo la necessità della cose, e provvidero come per natura ne avevano il diritto alla salute dello Stato.

La guerra civile fu tentata, e se non successe che un lago di sangue si spargesse sopra questa terra innocente non si deve per certo alla mansuetudine, e alla temperanza di coloro che a nome del Principe alzarono la bandiera della ribellione contro l'autorità costituite dal popolo e dai rappresentanti del popolo per la conservazione dell' ordine.

Difficilmente ha da credersi che con la bocca dei cannoni si volessero favellare parole di pace.

La chiamata di milizie straniere è certa, quantunque dipoi fosse disdetta; e stranieri appelleremo sempre gli stessi Piemontesi, non perchè tali veramente essi sieno, ma quante volte si presentassero a comprimere con armi fratricide i diritti di un popolo che non ha altra colpa tranne quella d'essere stato devoto ad un Principe che lo ha ricambiato con sì poca benevolenza.

4. Mancato il fine propostosi Leopoldo partì da San Stefano non per le cause che affermava nella protesta del 20 febbrajo, 1849, ma perchè non aveva più motivo di rimanere a Santo Stefano dove non possedeva neppure stanza sufficiente a se e alla sua famiglia, e dove gran parte delle sue masserizie erano lasciate a cielo scoperto, sopra alla pubblica via, alla custodia d'alquanti soldati.

Non è vero infatti che un corpo di armati condotto capo non Toscano si incamminasse a cacciarlo da Santo Stefano, comechè qualche giornale potesse averlo come troppo spesso succede avventatamente stampato, e furono solo spediti a Grosseto alcuni pochi municipali per conservare la quiete in cotesta provincia, ed alcune armi da distribuirsi alla civica pel medesimo fine.

Non è vero che in Toscana fosse instaurato il Governo Repubblicano; poichè la Repubblica fu proclamata dal popolo, ma come un voto, e come un desiderio nel modo che mille volte il popolo la proclamò mediante giornali, o con più esplicito dimostrazioni; e sebbene il Governo ritenesse e ritenga che sarà confermata dai Rappresentanti del popolo, non si credè autorizzato ad anticipare questa decisione, e volle mantenere il suo carattere puramente provvisorio.

Questa è la verità. Frà noi e Leopoldo d'Austria giudichi Dio, e giudichino anche gli uomini che coltivano la giustizia.

Noi chiamiamo in testimone la Toscana tutta, gli stessi membri del Corpo Diplomatico a cui fu diretta la protesta, e sfidiamo a smentire le nostre parole quei medesimi che per devozione antica, o per comodi ricevuti si sentono più amorrevoli alla causa del Principe fuggitivo.

(Firmato)

F. D. GUERRAZZI.

G. MAZZONI.

G. MONTANELLI

(Translation.)

To Europe.

Florence, March 4, 1849.

WE, the undersigned representatives of a most innocent people, having considered the protest addressed by Leopold of Austria to the members of the Diplomatic Body of Tuscany, dated from Porto Santo Stefano on the 20th of February, 1849, feel it our duty to declare, upon our soul, and with that good faith with which we have always acted and in which by the help of God we never shall be wanting :

That Leopold of Austria did spontaneously accept the Ministerial programme, declaring more than once, on the faith of an honest man, that he did not do so from any constraint, but as an act of his own free will.

Subsequently he appeared somewhat perplexed about signing the law of the Italian Costituente, but after a lengthened conference with F. D. Guerrazzi and with a person of authority belonging to a foreign Power, from being embarrassed he became anxious, and after having signed it he immediately consigned it to the above-mentioned Guerrazzi, that he and his colleagues might present it to the Chambers and sustain the discussion thereof.

After this the Grand Duke left Florence without even announcing his resolution to the Council of Ministers, only informing thereof the Minister of Finance, who had gone by mere chance to the Pitti Palace on the evening previous to his departure, in order to obtain his signature to a law of importance.

As soon as the Ministry heard the reports that were whispered abroad about the departure of the Prince, which was qualified as a flight, they sent him a letter, in which they announced that in case he did not return to the capital in the shortest space of time possible, he should be pleased to accept of their resignation. The respectable gentlemen, Chevalier Corradino Ghigi, General of the Civic Guard of Florence, and Ubaldino Peruzzi, Gonfaloniere of Florence, set off for Siena to advise the Prince to return immediately, and after a short interval of time they returned to Florence, reporting that they had found him ill in bed, that they had been assured by him of his intention to return with all haste ; that he recommended them to induce the Ministers not to abandon the Government of the State ; that it was his desire to see himself surrounded by the same Ministers, if not all, at least by a part of them.

What afterwards took place is publicly known by the declarations solemnly published before the Chambers of the Tuscan Parliament.

And it is equally known,

1. That notwithstanding his promises given by word and by writing, repeated more than once in the presence of respectable gentlemen, he departed from Siena like a fugitive, secretly, without advice and without any motive.

2. That he did not indicate the place of his retreat, but on the contrary, from the documents addressed to his Ministers, he gave them to understand that he himself did not know it.

3. That he did not name a Provisional Government ; for had he done so he would not have recommended to his Ministers the care of the country, of his servants, and of his effects.

4. That he proceeded to Porto Santo Stefano, and from thence by his letter and mandate, General Laugier attempted to kindle a civil war in Tuscany by calling also the Piedmontese army to his assistance.

5. That after a residence of some days at Santo Stefano he abandoned the Tuscan territory.

From these facts the following conclusions are to be deduced :

1. Leopold of Austria had no reason to complain of his Ministers, by whom he was supported with the zeal and courage that the people alone can be aware of, and through whose administration he had risen in the esteem of the Tuscans and of the whole of Italy. No one injured him ; no one was deficient in respect to him ; the press itself, too severe and too licentious towards others, observed towards his person the limits of a respectful reserve.

2. In virtue of the Constitutional Statute he neither could leave the country nor constitute a Provisional Government, much less without adducing any pretext of violence or of injury ; but only as he declared from a fear of not being able to manifest the scruple which he had conceived of incurring the

Pontifical censure; as if States were to be ruled by "cases of conscience," and as if the consideration of plunging the country into deplorable calamities ought not to have had greater weight in the mind of a Christian Prince, than the counsels which perhaps upon incorrect information were given him, not by the Spiritual Head of the Catholic Church, but by the temporal Prince of Rome.

3. Whatever the protests to the contrary may be, Leopold, by the length of his residence at Santo Stefano, had the intention of returning more as an absolute than as a constitutional Sovereign in Tuscany, relying—

a. Upon the consternation of the people, of the Assembly, and of the Ministry.

b. Upon the civil war.

c. Upon foreign arms.

The people, the Assemblies, and the Ministers were not alarmed; they accepted with a resolute mind the painful necessity, and provided, as naturally they had a right to do, for the safety of the State.

Civil war was attempted; and if blood was not spilt in this innocent land, it is not certainly to be attributed to the humanity and temperance of those who in the name of the Prince reared the standard of rebellion against the authorities constituted by the people and by the representatives of the people for the preservation of order.

It is difficult to believe that such people wanted to speak words of peace from the cannon's mouth.

The call of foreign troops is a fact, although they were afterwards countermanded; and we shall always regard the Piedmontese as foreigners, not because they really are so, but as often as they would present themselves to suppress, with fratricidal arms, the rights of a people which has no other fault but that of having been loyal to a Prince who has repaid them with such a want of benevolence.

4. When the end which Leopold had proposed to himself failed, he set sail from Santo Stefano; not for the motives which he sets forth in his protest of 20th February, 1849, but because he had no longer any object in remaining at Santo Stefano, where he had not even sufficient accommodation for himself and family, and where a great part of his effects were left out of doors, in the public street, in the custody of some soldiers.

In fact it is not true that a body of armed men, conducted by a leader, not a Tuscan, did march to drive him from Santo Stefano, as some public prints may have rashly published, as too often is the case; but some few Municipal Guards only were dispatched to Grosseto to keep the peace in that province; as were also some arms to be distributed among the Civic Guard for the same purpose.

It is false that the Republican Government was proclaimed in Tuscany, because the Republic was spoken of by the people as a wish, in the same way that they have proclaimed it a thousand times in the public prints and by more formal demonstrations; for although the Government was and is persuaded that this form of Government will be confirmed by the representatives of the people, it does not look upon itself as authorized to anticipate this decision, being determined to maintain its provisional character.

This is the truth. Let God judge between us and Leopold of Austria; and let men, lovers of justice, judge also.

We call to witness the whole of Tuscany, the members of the Diplomatic Body themselves, to whom the protest was addressed; and we defy even those who from former attachment or for benefits received feel more affection for the cause of the fugitive Prince, to belie our words.

(Signed)

F. D. GUERRAZZI.

G. MAZZONI.

G. MONTANELLI.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 20.)

My Lord,

Turin, March 12, 1849.

A PROJECT of law has been presented to the Chamber of Deputies to enable the Sardinian Government to suspend for a time the constitutional liberties of this country; the principal dispositions of which are as follows:

1. The Government will be enabled to order domiciliary visits; to expel from and to prevent the entrance into the Sardinian States of persons not natives of this country; to arrest individuals not actually engaged in the commission of an offence, provided they be given up to the competent authorities within twenty-four hours; and to send back to their respective parishes all mendicants and vagabonds belonging to the State, or to place them in public establishments provided for the purpose.

2. All owners of houses will be required within three days to transmit a list of the persons lodging in their houses, and will be submitted to the regulations formerly in force with respect to innkeepers.

3. All meetings and associations, whatever may be their object and whether held in a public or private place, might be dissolved if found dangerous for the security or the State.

4. No publications respecting the movements of the army and the war will be permitted unless approved of by the authorities or already published in the official paper.

5. The crying of papers for sale in the streets will be prohibited as well as the sticking on the walls of bills of every description, with the exception of official documents published by the authorities.

6. The circulation in public places, by word or writing, of information relative to the military or political affairs of the State will also be prohibited.

7. Offenders against the dispositions of the 2nd Article will be punished by imprisonment from fifteen days to six months, and a fine of from 50 to 500 francs; and those against the dispositions of the 4th and 6th Articles will be imprisoned from one month to two years, with a fine of from 100 to 1000 francs, and the sequestration of the publications.

Offenders against the prohibition contained in Article 5 will be punished by imprisonment from three months to a year, and fined from 100 to 600 francs.

These offences will be judged by the tribunals according to the ordinary forms, and when committed by means of printed publications, will render the author, the editor, and the printer thereof liable to prosecution. In cases concerning newspapers, the author and responsible editor will be prosecuted.

8. In cases of offence against the dispositions of Article 4 by means of publications imported from foreign States, the Government will be able to prevent the introduction and sale of such publications, and individuals guilty of circulating them will be liable to the same penalties as offenders against the dispositions of the 4th, 5th and 6th Articles.

9. The present law will cease to be in force three months from the date of its coming into operation, unless the Government shall previously have obtained the sanction of Parliament for its continuing in effect.

It will cease to be in force before the end of that term, should hostilities cease or be suspended by means of a convention with the enemy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 20.)

My Lord,

Turin, March 12, 1849

TWO financial bills have been laid before the Sardinian Parliament.

The first authorizes the Ministry to contract abroad a loan of 50,000,000 francs, on condition of giving an account of the conditions thereof to Parliament as soon as it shall have been concluded.

The second opens a voluntary loan in the Sardinian States, the first half of which will be payable this month and the second during the course of April.

Persons contributing less than 720 francs will receive a Government security (*cedola di rendita*) of 5 francs a-year for every 72 francs, as in the first instance. These advantages will however be granted only to those who shall have paid their contributions by the end of next month.

Contributors to this loan will be entitled to an exemption from any forced loan which might hereafter be raised for the amount they shall have subscribed.

The interest will be payable from March 1, 1849; and from the 1st January, 1849, for those persons who shall have subscribed the first 20,000,000.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 219.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 20.)

My Lord,

Turin, March 15, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copies of two decrees which have been published in the official papers of this country: the first appointing the Prince Eugene of Savoy-Carignan to be Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom during the King's absence, and the second intrusting the conduct of the operations of the war to General Chranowski.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 219.

Decree appointing the Prince of Savoy-Carignan Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom.

(Translation.)

Report made to His Majesty by the Minister of the Interior in his audience of the 13th March.

THE cause of Italian independence, to which your Majesty has devoted all your efforts, might require your absence from the capital of the State, and it is right and proper to provide for the management of public business during that time by the appointment of a representative of your person, invested with full powers for the transaction of current as well as of urgent business.

We propose for the above high office the Prince Eugene of Savoy-Carignan, who, when formerly called upon to fulfil similar functions, showed himself worthy of the trust placed in him by your Majesty and by the nation; and we propose for your Royal sanction the following decree:

"Charles Albert, &c.

"On the proposition of our Minister Secretary of State for the Interior, and with the advice of our Council of Ministers, we have ordered and order what follows:

"The Prince Eugene of Savoy-Carignan is appointed to be our Lieutenant-General during our absence from the capital.

"He will provide in our name, and on a report from one of our responsible Ministers, for all the current and urgent affairs, by signing the Royal decrees, which will be countersigned and made valid in the usual form.

"All other affairs will continue to be reported to us by the Ministers respectively concerned.

"Our Ministers Secretaries of State are charged, in so far as each of them is concerned, with the execution of the present decree, &c."

Turin, March 13, 1849.

(Signed) CHARLES ALBERT.
RATTAZZI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 219.

Decree appointing General Chrzanowski to conduct War Operations.

(Translation.)

THE conduct of the military operations of the war having been intrusted to the Major-General of the army, Lieutenant-General the Chevalier Albert Chrzanowski;

On the proposal of our Minister Secretary of State for the Affairs of War and Marine, and President of the Council, we have ordered and order what follows:

All orders for the operations of the war will be given in our name by the Major-General of the army, the Chevalier Albert Chrzanowski, who will be responsible.

The President of the Council and Minister Secretary of State for the Affairs of War and Marine is intrusted with the execution of the present decree.

Turin, March 13, 1849.

(Signed) CHARLES ALBERT.
A. CHIODO.

No. 220.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir George Hamilton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 20, 1849.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 5th of March, inclosing an application which had been addressed to you by M. Rusconi, the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Rome, requesting you to interfere to procure the release of the six hostages lately taken from Ferrara by the Austrian General Haynau, as a security for the payment of 200,000 dollars levied by him on that city; and I have to acquaint you that this is not a matter with which Her Majesty's Government can interfere.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 221.

Sir Hamilton Seymour to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 20.)

(Extract.)

Lisbon, March 11, 1849.

AS various reports have prevailed here as to the assistance and amount of assistance which the Portuguese Government were disposed to afford to the Pope, when I called upon the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the 9th instant I requested his Excellency to state to me exactly the nature of the understanding between him and the Papal Mission.

Viscount de Castro replied that the position was simply this, that the Government of Portugal had adhered to the proposition of the Spanish Government; that they were ready to take part at any conference which might be held by the Catholic Powers upon the affairs of the Church; and that if those Powers came to the decision of giving material assistance to the Pope, Portugal would certainly not refuse her co-operation—"Que certainement le Portugal ne resterait point en arrière."

No. 222.

Vice-Consul Campbell to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 20.)

My Lord,

Milan, March 13, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to state for your Lordship's information, that General Cadorno, on an extraordinary mission from His Majesty the King of Sardinia, arrived yesterday in this city, and announced to his Excellency Field-Marshal Count Radetzky, that His Majesty being determined to recommence immediate hostilities, the Armistice between the belligerent parties will consequently cease in eight days from the 12th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT CAMPBELL.

No. 223.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 20.)

My Lord,

Vienna, March 15, 1849.

THE Ministers have no doubt that the King of Sardinia will commence hostilities against the Austrians. It is confidently said that the Piedmontese officers are against war, but as they, in common with the majority of the nation, are against a Republic, and therefore will support the Monarchy, it may not be easy to say how the will of the King, in union with the opinion of the second Chamber at Turin, is to be resisted by the disposition of the army to avoid war. I do not pretend to solve the difficulty, but think it proper to mention the facts to your Lordship.

The Austrians have been and are still sending reinforcements to the Italian army, and it will be soon, if not already, 100,000 strong.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

No. 224.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 21.)

My Lord,

Vienna, March 16, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy in original and translation of a telegraphic despatch published in this day's official Gazette, and announcing that the Sardinians had given notice that the Armistice was to cease on the 12th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) PONSONBY.

Inclosure in No. 224.

From the official Vienna Gazette of March 16, 1849.

(Translation.)

Milan, March 12, 1849.

Telegraphic despatch from Cilli. Lieutenant-General Hess to the President of the Council, Prince Schwarzenberg:

"Notice was given on the 12th of March by the Piedmontese, that the Armistice was at an end, in pursuance of which hostilities may begin on the 19th or 20th.

Sir H. Ellis to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 21.)

(Extract.)

Brussels, March 20, 1849.

I TRANSMIT to your Lordship the inclosed copy and translation of a despatch received by the Marquis Ricci, the Sardinian Plenipotentiary, from the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Turin, and which the Marquis was instructed to communicate to the French and English Plenipotentiaries.

Inclosure in No. 225.

M. de Ferrari to the Marquis Ricci.

Illmo. Signor Ministro,

Torino, 13 Marzo, 1849.

Il Governo del Re in data di jera e nell' ora precisa di mezzodi ha dinunziato l'Armistizio al Commandante-in-capo dell' esercito Austriaco in Italia. I motivi che lo hanno determinato a questa denuncia sono indicati in un manifesto o memorandum che per copia troverà qui unito. Il Governo del Re altamente confida nel zelo della Signoria vostra illustrissima per rimanere convinto ch' ella farà ogni sforzo per far conoscere ai Signori Ambasciatori d'Inghilterra e di Francia al Congresso di Brusselle, che con tale denuncia non s'intende di rinunciare alla mediazione che per la grata interposizione di quelle Potenze erasi procurata al Governo Sardo. La denuncia dell' Armistizio si è creduta necessaria per sollicitare il corso nella mediazione che non progrediva, e perchè lo stato politico delle cose in Piemonte e in Italia richiedeva dopo tanta aspettativa una pronta soluzione: non era più possibile sopprimere alle spese di guerra senza farla, e la continua incertezza ed inquietudine di tutti gli animi poteva ad ogni tratto dar luogo a gravi commozioni. Dovendosi risolvere la quistione non restava che o disarmare o far la guerra. Il primo partito rompera i vincoli che ci legano ai Lombardo-Veneti, era contrario all' opinione universale, e avrebbe prodotto gravissimi inconvenienti, forse la guerra civile. E vero che i Reali di Savoia hanno le tradizionali affezioni dei popoli, ma non dovea trascurarsi quanto occorre nell' Italia Centrale, ove il Pontefice e il Gran Duca dovettero ritirarsi, perchè furono creduti avversi al principio della indipendenza Italiana. Non restava dunque che il secondo partito, ed esso fu accettato coll' intenzione e come modo di conservare l'ordine sociale in alcune parti d'Europa minacciato, e di conseguire al più presto una pace onorevole e duratura.

Ella, Signor Ministro, procuri di far conoscere queste intenzione e di far sì che le Potenze mediatrice vogliano reprimere con più efficacia l'amorevole loro opera che colla pace dell' Italia assicurerà quella dell' Europa.

Colgo questa occasione, &c.

(Firmato) DE FERRARI.

(Translation.)

M. le Ministre,

Turin, March 13, 1849.

THE King's Government yesterday precisely at noon gave notice to the Commander-in-chief of the Austrian army in Italy, of the termination of the Armistice. The motives which have induced this denunciation are stated in a manifesto or memorandum, a copy of which is inclosed herewith. The King's Government has great confidence in your Excellency's zeal, and is convinced that you will use every endeavour to make known to the Representatives of England and France at the Congress of Brussels, that by this denunciation there is no intention of renouncing the mediation which had been obtained for the Sardinian Government by the courteous interposition of those Powers.

The denunciation of the Armistice has been considered necessary, in order to hasten the course of the mediation which was making no progress, and because the political state of things in Piedmont and in Italy generally demanded, after so many delays, a prompt solution: it was impossible longer to support war-expenses without going to war, and the continued uncertainty and want of confidence in the public mind might at any moment give rise to serious disturbance.

It being necessary to solve the question, it only remained either to disarm or go to war. The former course was calculated to sever the ties which bind us to the Lombardo-Venetians, was contrary to universal opinion, and would have produced the most serious difficulties,—possibly even civil war.

It is true that the Royal Family of Savoy possesses the traditional affection of its people, but it was impossible not to take into consideration what has occurred in Central Italy, where the Pontiff and the Grand Duke have been obliged to retire because they were believed to be opposed to the principle of Italian independence.

There only remained then the latter course, and that was adopted with the intention and as the means of preserving social order, threatened in certain parts of Europe, and of obtaining an honourable and lasting peace.

You, M. le Ministre, will endeavour to make known these intentions, and to induce the mediating Powers to resume their friendly labours with more effect, and thus by securing the peace of Italy, secure also that of Europe.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) DE FERRARI.

No. 226.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 22.)

My Lord,

Venice, March 8, 1849.

CONSIDERABLE excitement has existed in Venice for the last few days in consequence of a division of parties in the Assembly of Representatives, which has produced a Ministerial crisis.

A large number of the Representatives, comprising the most violent Republicans and advocates for the *Costituente Italiana*, were desirous that more power should be exercised by the Assembly, and that in fact the Executive Government should be entirely subservient to it, while the friends of the Government were anxious that Signor Manin should continue to exercise supreme authority. As there appeared a probability at one time that the party in favour of the supremacy of the Assembly would prevail, much discontent arose among the populace, who are in favour of Signor Manin. On the 5th instant, after tumultuously assembling on the Square of St. Mark, from whence they were prevailed upon to withdraw by an harangue from Signor Manin, a large mob attempted to invade the Assembly then sitting in the Ducal Palace. The civic guard on duty had great difficulty in repelling this attempt, but fortunately succeeded in closing the gates, and no serious collision took place. Signor Manin then made his way, carrying his sword drawn, through the crowd, and again entreated them if they really wished him well to retire, at the same time using very firm and decided language. This had the desired effect; the crowd dispersed, and the Assembly was liberated from its imprisonment. I am sorry to say, however, that violent threats have been openly made use of by the populace, and placards affixed menacing with death all those who should take part against Signor Manin, and exalting the power of the *Popolo Sovrano*; whilst a feeling of insecurity is growing up among all persons here who have anything to lose. The effect of the events of the 5th has been to give a decided preponderance in the Assembly to the party of Signor Manin; and it was voted yesterday almost unanimously, that he should be appointed sole chief of the Executive Power with the title of President, with full powers for the internal and external defence of the country, including also the power of adjourning the Assembly itself, but for a period not longer than fifteen days, when the motives of the adjournment must be communicated to it. Signor Manin has accepted the power thus conferred upon him, and the Assembly was

immediately adjourned to the 14th instant. Tranquillity is again re-established; but, as I have stated, a feeling of insecurity prevails, and not unnaturally, for there is no force upon which, in the event of any serious disorders occurring, reliance can be placed. The civic guard are unwilling to come into collision with the populace, who are daily becoming more aware of their power, while the troops of the line, composed as they are of a motley set, would, it is to be feared, be but doubtful auxiliaries in the cause of order, and with the exception of Signor Manin there is no chief of energy or influence.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CLINTON G. DAWKINS.

No. 227.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 22.)

My Lord,

Turin, March 15, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of the answer which I have returned to M. de Ferrari's note of the 13th instant notifying to me the denunciation, by the Sardinian Government, of the Armistice of August 9, 1848.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure in No. 227.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to M. de Ferrari.

Turin, March 14, 1849.

THE Undersigned, &c., has the honour to acknowledge the receipt, at half-past 9 yesterday evening, of the note by which M. de Ferrari, &c., announces to him the determination of His Sardinian Majesty and of his Government to denounce the Armistice of Milan of August 9 of last year, between the Sardinian and Austrian armies which act M. de Ferrari informs him was executed on Monday last at noon.

The Undersigned, in compliance with the wish expressed by M. de Ferrari in his note has lost no time, in transmitting to his Government copy of the communication he has received from the Cabinet of Turin.

The Undersigned does not take upon himself to pronounce beforehand what measures or decisions Her Britannic Majesty's Government may deem proper to adopt in consequence of the very grave determination to which His Sardinian Majesty and his Government have now come; but in reserving to himself the faculty on a future occasion, should he be so instructed, to reply in greater detail to the contents of the note of M. de Ferrari of the 13th instant, he does not hesitate to observe that His Sardinian Majesty and his Government, by the course which they have followed in defiance of the earnest and often-repeated counsels of the mediating Powers, have rendered themselves responsible for all the misfortunes and evils which the chances of war may unhappily cast upon their country, and that the rest of Europe will not fail to feel great dissatisfaction that His Sardinian Majesty should, by the conduct which he has adopted for the second time within the year, have incurred the immense responsibility of endangering public tranquillity, by an unprovoked attack upon a neighbouring State.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 228.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 22.)

My Lord,

Turin, March 17, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that in consequence of the evacuation of Parma by the Austrian troops, the Senator Piezza has been sent to that town in the capacity of Sardinian Commissioner.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 229.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 22, 1849.

I HAVE to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government approve the note of which a copy is inclosed in your despatch of the 15th instant, and which you addressed to the Sardinian Secretary of State on the 14th instant, in reply to his note of the previous day, acquainting you that the Armistice had been denounced by the Sardinian Government on the 12th of this month.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 230.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 23.)

(Extract.)

Florence, March 14, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Monday last, the 12th instant, was proclaimed by the Provisional Government as a general fête throughout Tuscany, to be celebrated by illuminations and rejoicings, as the day on which Tuscany was to enter upon a new era of liberty by the election of members of the Constituent Assembly.

In order that every opportunity should be afforded to the people of exercising the right of universal suffrage, it was forbidden to the peasant to work on that day. The opportunity however so carefully supplied to the Tuscan people for an expression of their sentiments has not been seized upon with avidity, for at Florence not one-twentieth part of the electors have cast their votes into the electoral urns. It appears that Marshal Radetzky and Windischgrätz, and the Grand Duke Leopold were among others considered as fit candidates to represent Tuscany in an Italian National Assembly.

In the city and district of Lucca not a single countryman was found to vote, and the churches in which the electoral urns were placed were deserted by the priests immediately after the tapers had been lighted on the altars.

No. 231.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 23.)

(Extract.)

Turin, March 18, 1849.

A DECREE appeared in the official gazette of yesterday ordering a "levée en masse" of all the citizens of the Lombardo-Venetian Provinces.

All Lombards residing in the provinces not occupied by the Austrians are to present themselves within five days before the military authorities, in order to be enrolled, in default of which they will be liable to the same penalties as refractory conscripts.

Prince Schwarzenberg to Count Colloredo.—(Communicated to Viscount Palmerston by Count Colloredo, March 26.)

M. le Comte,

Vienne, le 18 Mars, 1849.

LA Sardaigne a dénoncé le 12 de ce mois l'Armistice signé à Milan le 9 Août de l'année dernière.

Observateurs attentifs de la marche tortueuse suivie dès cette époque par le Gouvernement Piémontais, l'événement n'a pu nous surprendre. En revanche il est venu justifier la détermination que nous avions prise de n'entamer qu'à bonnes enseignes des négociations de paix qui ne nous semblaient pas offrir la moindre chance de succès tant que les dispositions de la Cour de Turin n'auraient pas subi des modifications essentielles.

La dénonciation de l'Armistice de la part de la Sardaigne est de nature à démontrer, que loin de renoncer à ses vues ambitieuses, elle continue à poursuivre des projets incompatibles avec le maintien de ce que nous considérons à juste titre comme notre bon droit. La ligne de conduite suivie par le Roi Charles Albert sert à la fois de preuve qu'il n'a jamais pris au sérieux la médiation, et qu'il a au contraire trouvé de son avantage de ne parler de paix que pour mieux se préparer à la guerre.

Quoiqu'il en soit, forcée d'en appeler encore une fois au sort des batailles, l'Autriche peut se rendre la justice d'avoir fait tout ce que le devoir et l'honneur lui permettaient pour éviter cette calamité. Que la responsabilité de cette grave résolution tombe sur la tête de celui que l'a prise, en cédant à de funestes conseils.

La conduite que nous avons constamment tenue dans cette malheureuse complication est connue du Cabinet de Londres.

Nous avons cru devoir à nous-mêmes de la soumettre également à l'appréciation de l'Europe entière, par l'exposé succinct que vous trouverez ci-joint.

En communiquant cette dépêche et son annexe au Principal Secrétaire d'Etat, vous voudrez bien, M. le Comte, lui témoigner la confiance à laquelle se livre le Cabinet Impérial, que le Gouvernement Anglais dans sa justice ne balancera pas à frapper de réprobation les erreurs de la Puissance qui a été la première à donner le signal de la reprise des hostilités, et qu'il réglera son attitude en conformité de ce sentiment.

Recevez, &c.

(Signé) F. SCHWARZENBERG.

(Translation.)

M. le Comte,

Vienne, March 18, 1849.

SARDINIA denounced on the 12th instant the Armistice signed at Milan on the 9th of August last year.

As attentive observers of the tortuous course followed since that period by the Piedmontese Government, that event has not surprised us. On the other hand, it has justified the determination which we had taken not to enter without fair prospects of success into negotiations for peace which did not seem to us to offer the slightest chance of success so long as the disposition of the Court of Turin was not essentially changed.

The denunciation of the Armistice on the part of Sardinia tends to show that, far from renouncing her ambitious views, she continues to pursue projects incompatible with the maintenance of what we justly consider to be our right. The line of conduct followed by King Charles Albert proves at once that he has never seriously regarded the mediation, and that he found it on the contrary advantageous to speak of peace only to enable him the better to prepare for war.

However that may be, Austria compelled once more to appeal to the chance of war, can justly assert that she has done everything that her duty and her honour admitted of her doing in order to avoid that calamity. Let the responsibility of this serious decision fall on the head of him who, yielding to fatal counsels, has taken it.

The conduct which we have constantly pursued in this unfortunate complication of affairs is known to the Cabinet of London.

We have thought that we owed it to ourselves to submit it in like manner to the judgment of the whole of Europe by the brief narrative hereunto annexed.

In communicating this despatch and its inclosure to the Principal Secretary of State, you will have the goodness, M. le Comte, to express to him the persuasion of the Imperial Cabinet that the English Government in its justice will not hesitate to blame the errors of a Power which has been the first to give the signal for the resumption of hostilities, and that it will regulate its conduct in conformity with that feeling.

Receive, &c.

(Signed) F. SCHWARZENBERG.

Inclosure in No. 232.

Austrian Circular respecting the Denunciation of the Armistice by Sardinia.

(Translation.)

THE Armistice concluded with Sardinia on the 9th day of August last, was on the 12th ultimo denounced on the part of that Power.

Austria will consequently be forced once more to grasp the sword in defence of her right. In this unhappily inevitable struggle, she will be supported by the soothing consciousness that she has done everything which duty and honour allowed to avoid it. The following exposition of the facts will set this truth in the clearest light.

In August last, when the illustrious Imperial arms had gained several decisive battles over the Piedmontese army, King Charles Albert solicited an armistice as an introduction to a definitive restoration of peace. At that time it depended solely on the will of the Imperial Government to follow up to the utmost the retreating enemy, and to dictate peace on his own territory. But Austria, inspired by true love of peace, gave to the world the most unanswerable proof of her lofty moderation, in commanding her victorious army to halt on the frontiers of her territory as a significant testimony that she had not taken arms until compelled to defend the integrity of her dominion. An armistice was therefore granted to the King of Sardinia, and in order at the same time to accede to the wishes expressed by him to enter into an immediate negotiation for peace, a Plenipotentiary was named on the part of Austria. In the mean time France and England had offered their friendly mediation for the restoration of peace. The Imperial Cabinet hesitated at first to accept the mediation, as it was perfectly entitled from what had taken place to consider the negotiations with Sardinia as already entered upon. But as that Power now declared that on its part it had accepted the mediation, and that it could not consequently consent to direct negotiations, the Imperial Cabinet also assented to the offer of the mediating Powers. The basis of peace proposed by them, according to which Lombardy should be separated from Austria, as well as all the other proposals made before the last resumption of hostilities, but rejected at the time by the contending parties, were declined by the Imperial Government, with the express proviso that it would agree upon another basis of peace with the mediating Powers. In later declarations, frequently and definitely repeated, the Imperial Cabinet expresses its conviction that peace could be concluded on no other basis than on that state of territorial possessions which had been sanctioned by the European Treaties.

Professing friendly dispositions until the last decisive moment, Sardinia, without any previous declaration of war, passed the Ticino on the 23rd of March last, without being able to allege any other motive for her unjust aggression than the connection of races with the Lombards, who were then in insurrection against their lawful Government at the very moment when a new era was about to begin for them by the concession of extended political immunities. After a sanguinary struggle for half a year, carried on with the most grievous sacrifices, the brave Austrian arms repelled the attacking army over the border,

and the victor, after a reasonable indemnity for the expenses of the war, limited himself to the declaration that he would demand no more than what God and his right would give him.

No one can possibly deny that such conduct bore the impress of the greatest moderation and of the most decided love of peace.

The attitude assumed by Sardinia since the conclusion of the Armistice stands in entire opposition with this.

The Sardinian fleet which, by the IVth Article of the Convention of Armistice, should have immediately quitted Venice to return to the Sardinian States, did not retire until after some delay, and then only partially. But it has never quitted the Adriatic Sea, where it remains to this hour.

It was only by this open violation of the Armistice on the part of Sardinia that the city of Venice was enabled to persist in its opposition to the Imperial army. But not satisfied with this, Sardinia went still further, notoriously granting to the insurgent city of Venice during the Armistice considerable sums in monthly instalments, by way of subsidy for carrying on the war. There was formed in the capital of Piedmont, chiefly out of the members of the Government expelled from Milan, a self-styled *Consulta Lombarda*, which was recognized by the Court of Turin as a lawful authority, and was by it enabled, under its eyes and protection, to feed the fire of discord and hatred in the neighbouring Italian provinces of Austria, and to oppose in every imaginable way, the efforts of the Imperial Government to restore peace and tranquillity in them. Not less ready welcome and support was found at the Court of Turin by Magyar emissaries and Polish refugees, who were there with the unnecealed object of effecting a close union between the Italian Revolution and that criminal party who have kindled the torch of civil war in some portions of our fatherland, and of thereby causing the dissolution of the Austrian Monarchy.

On this occasion the official tone of the Sardinian Government was in consonance with practices which displayed the most hostile views. In the very beginning of the past month, when the Legislative Assembly was opened in Turin, Austria had the very great annoyance to see that the King, in a solemn speech from the Throne, announced a Kingdom of Upper Italy, and openly invited the Italian provinces of Austria, which, according to his declaration, belonged to such kingdom, to a renewed insurrection against their lawful Government.

Such a speech, made in the face of all Europe, at a moment when the Plenipotentiary of Austria was preparing to set out for Brussels, to begin there the negotiations for peace, naturally could not be received with indifference by the Imperial Cabinet. It felt itself in the imperious necessity of submitting it to the mediating Powers, whether, according to their own opinion, the interval between the unmeasured pretensions of Sardinia and the just right of Austria were not too wide to admit of hopes of closing it by any mediation. But, at all events, the Imperial Cabinet thought that the danger of seeing the negotiations for peace wrecked against the immoderate demands of Sardinia at the very outset, would be best met by insisting first of all upon a previous understanding with the mediating Powers as to the basis on which the negotiation should proceed. But in consonance with the repeatedly declared views of the Austrian Government, this basis could be nothing less than the state of territorial possession which was sanctioned by those very treaties to which Sardinia owes her present existence.

Whilst these negotiations were still in progress, Sardinia has openly thrown off all the ideas of peace which she had already long renounced in secret, and has again appealed to the fortune of war.

However the iron lot may fall, Austria for herself can bear the consolatory testimony that she has not given occasion in any way for the war which she has been again compelled by Italian arrogance to resort to.

Austria followed no ambitious views, she has not coveted foreign crowns, she wished to do only what every one may wish, to preserve her own, to defend against unjust aggression the integrity of her monarchy, recognized by solemn treaties, and again confirmed by the Imperial proclamation and Diet of the 4th instant, and which is the first principle of the liberty, power, and advancement of her people. In this struggle for the holiest blessings of the nation Austria's Emperor may reckon on the sympathy of all those in whose bosoms the

sense of right is not yet lost, on the unmoveable constancy and heroism of his renowned army, on the resignation and perseverance of his people, and finally, on the protection and assistance of the Lord of Hosts, who will never permit the just cause to be overcome.

No. 233.

Mr. Edwardes to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 23.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 22, 1849.

BY the latest intelligence the French Government have received from Italy, it appears that the Austrian forces, having vacated the Duchies, are concentrated in the neighbourhood of Cremona and Lodi, whilst those of Sardinia are about Alessandria; and it was hourly expected that hostilities would commence.

M. Drouyn de Lhuys informed me of a communication made by Prince Schwarzenberg to M. de la Cour to the effect that the Austrian army would march to Turin (of which he expressed himself confident) and there dictate peace; that the object of Austria was not to acquire territory, but that Sardinia should pay the expenses of the war; that should a rising take place in Lombardy, and the forces be compelled to retire from Milan, they would not do so previously to having destroyed the greater portion of the town.

The Prince added that doubtless the fleet in the Adriatic might do much damage to Trieste and along the coast, but that an indemnity would be exacted from Sardinia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. EDWARDES.

No. 234.

Viscount Palmerston to Sir H. Ellis.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 24, 1849.

AS the Armistice between the Austrians and Sardinians has been denounced by the Sardinian Government, and hostilities were expected to be renewed on the 21st instant, there seems no likelihood that the contemplated negotiations at Brussels will for the present take place; and therefore as there would be no use in your remaining any longer at Brussels, you are at liberty to return to England as soon after the receipt of the present despatch as may suit your convenience.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 235.

Sir George Hamilton to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 25.)

My Lord,

Florence, March 17, 1849.

—IN consequence of the Armistice having been denounced by the King of Sardinia, the Duke of Modena has issued a proclamation of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, informing his people that the number of Austrian troops in his States will be diminished, as it is necessary that they should be concentrated.

His Royal Highness states that he shall not leave his dominions, and calls on his troops and people to maintain order in the duchy, and trusts that Providence will preserve his country from great disasters and will speedily restore the blessings of peace.

A battalion of the Schwarzenberg Regiment still remains in garrison at Modena, and it is stated that General de La Marmora, at the head of 20,000 men, either has or is about to enter the Modenese territory from Sarzana.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE B. HAMILTON.

Inclosure in No. 235.

Proclamation of the Duke of Modena.

Noi Francesco V, &c.

FRA non molto vanno a riprendersi le ostilità fra le Imperiali Reali truppe e le truppe Sarde. Per tal motivo venendo concentrate le forze Austriache ne diminuisce il numero ne' nostri Stati.

In così grave circostanza ove rinascono timori e speranze a seconda delle opinioni politiche, troviamo opportuno di far conoscere chiaramente ai nostri sudditi che abbiamo confidenza nel pieno trionfo della giusta causa, e che i mali, onde da molto tempo è afflitta l'Italia, tocchino al loro termine.

Siamo determinati perciò di non allontanarci dal nostro Stato, e di rimanervi finchè ad esso possa giovare la nostra presenza. Vogliamo quindi sperare che tutti gli amanti dell'ordine, e chiunque è attaccato al nostro Governo saprà rimanere tranquillo, e che confiderà come confidiamo noi pure che dalla Divina Provvidenza saranno questi Stati preservati da gravi disastri, e che da essa sarà ricondotta in breve la pace fra noi.

Vogliamo non meno sperare che chiunque nutrisca sentimenti avversi al nostro Governo si asterrà dal tentare cosa per la quale venisse perturbato l'ordine pubblico, e fossero violate le leggi da noi stabilite a tutela della comune tranquillità e sicurezza, mentre in caso diverso non resterebbe a suo tempo impunito.

Dichiariamo in fine alle ottime nostre truppe che il momento di prova per esse potrebbe esser giunto, e che non dubitiamo che saranno al caso per corrispondere pienamente alla fiducia che abbiamo di loro, mostrandosi fedeli, costanti, intrepide, ove occorra, facendo così onore alla loro bandiera, ed all'Italia di cui son figli.

Dato in Modena il dì 14 Marzo, 1849.

(Firmato)

FRANCESCO.

(Translation.)

We, Francis V, &c.

HOSTILITIES between the Imperial Royal troops and the Sardinian troops will be shortly renewed, and in consequence the Austrian forces having to be concentrated, the number of them in our States is thereby diminished.

In such important circumstances, when fears and hopes revive according to political opinions, we consider it opportune to make known clearly to our subjects that we have a full confidence in the triumph of the just cause, and that the evils with which Italy has been for some time afflicted, are coming to an end.

We are determined, therefore, not to abandon our State, and to remain therein as long as our presence can be beneficial to it. We will thence hope that all lovers of order and all who are attached to our Government will remain quiet, and will confide as we do, that Divine Providence will preserve these States from serious disasters and will soon re-establish peace among us.

We also hope not less firmly, that if any persons nourish sentiments adverse to our Government, they will abstain from attempting anything by which public order might be disturbed and the laws established by us for general tranquillity and safety violated, seeing in that case they would not long remain unpunished.

Lastly, we declare to our good troops that their time of trial may be arrived, and that we have no doubt they will do full credit to the trust that we have in them, evincing fidelity, constancy, intrepidity wherever it may be required, thus doing honour to their colours and to Italy, whose sons they are.

Dated Modena, March 14, 1849.

(Signed)

FRANCESCO.

No. 236.

Viscount Ponsonby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 25.)

(Extract.)

Vienna, March 20, 1849.

I HAD a conversation yesterday with Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I spoke to him about the despatches attributed to him which had appeared in the newspapers as mentioned by your Lordship. He said he had heard of them but had not had time to read them, nevertheless he thought they were correctly given, with perhaps some trivial alteration in the wording. He had heard that they were stolen at Naples. If he makes any observation upon what I communicated to him respecting inaccuracies, I think he will send it through Count Colloredo.

With respect to the delay that has occurred of the mission of an Austrian Plenipotentiary to Brussels, he said that more than once he had told me that "if he could tell me all he knew, I should not think him in the wrong;" and now he would say that his conduct had been mainly influenced by his positive knowledge of the determination of the King of Sardinia to renew the war. I presume that he desired to have the Imperial Government quite free to act according to its own views whenever war should occur.

It is supposed that hostilities will commence immediately, the Austrians have been preparing to move, and the Marshal and his officers are full of impatience for action.

The recruiting of the army is going on with great success, and money can be had by loan. Efforts are making to place the Government in a position to be able to resist any enemy that may arise. Prince Schwarzenberg denied positively that there is popular discontent in Bohemia.

I believe Venice will be attacked as soon as the proper means can be applied to that purpose. The Danish Admiral Dahlerup, who arrived here a few days ago, has been made Admiral in the Imperial service, and will have the command of the Austrian ships of war. It is reported that the Neapolitans will supply some ships. The recommencement of war by the King of Sardinia frees the Austrians from the restraint derived from their wish to act in conformity with the desires of the British and French Governments that Venice should not be actively attacked, and the Austrians think that the continuation of Venice in its present state of defiance of their power is detrimental to the Emperor's authority elsewhere, and they also wish to have the considerable body of troops at present occupied in the neighbourhood of that city made available for service in other parts.

I presume you will hear of the arrival in Paris of M. Hübnér. He is sent there to make known to the French Government the intention of the Austrians to persevere in their resolution not to attempt any conquest or extension of territory, and to carry into execution the declarations they have made of their purpose to establish liberal institutions in the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom. Prince Schwarzenberg made to me the declaration yesterday, which he has often before made, that the Imperial Government would perform its promises in that respect as it had done in others.

There prevails the same doubt and difficulty as ever about the mode of settling the restoration of the Pope, and the same resolution of this Government that it shall be accomplished somehow or other. The war between the King of Sardinia and the Austrians will probably tend to some solution ere long of that difficulty. The conduct of the Imperial Government indicates its earnest desire to produce a pacific settlement of affairs respecting Italy, and if the French Government shall adhere to its intention to avoid interference by arms, it is to be expected as well as to be hoped that the peace of Europe will not be endangered by Italian quarrels.

No. 237.

Mr. Edwardes to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 25.)

My Lord,

Paris, March 24, 1849.

INFORMATION has reached the Government here of M. Mercier's having had an interview with the King of Sardinia at Novara, and that he failed in his endeavours to dissuade him from recommencing hostilities.

His Majesty however expressed the hope that if success attended him at the commencement of the war he would meet with the friendly support of the mediating Powers.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. EDWARDES.

No. 238.

Consul-General Dawkins to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 26.)

(Extract.)

Venice, March 16, 1849.

THE Assembly of Representatives, the adjournment of which I reported in my despatch of the 8th instant, met again on the 14th, and was prorogued by the Government on the following day for another fortnight. The message declaring this prorogation stated that the Assembly would understand the reasons, although not published, that led to this measure; but that at all events it would be fully explained in the next meeting, if indeed circumstances should not afford a full justification of it sooner.

The Government yesterday issued a decree ordering all officers of the land and sea-forces to repair immediately to their respective posts, to be in readiness to execute any orders they might receive, and at the same time calling upon the mobilized Civic Guard to hold itself in readiness to support the operations of the troops.

It is supposed that the Venetian Government apprehend an immediate attack, or that they meditate a sortie.

For some days past the guns of the Fort of Malghera, in the occupation of the Venetians, have fired a few shot at intervals on some works that are being erected by the Austrian outposts. These shots have not been returned by the Austrians.

The Sardinian ships of war that had taken up an anchorage close to the town have returned to the anchorage at Malamocco, where they now lie, consisting of two corvettes, two brigs, and one steamer. Sardinian steamers are constantly communicating between this place and the remainder of the Sardinian squadron at Ancona.

The French steam-frigate "Panama" arrived at Trieste about a week ago. The French force in these waters now consists of "Asmodée," steam-frigate, flag of Admiral Ricaudy; "Panama," steam-frigate; and "Psyché," heavily-armed frigate, at Trieste; "Pluton," "Solon," "Brazier," war-steamers, at Venice.

No. 239.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 27.)

My Lord,

Turin, March 21, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship the manner in which I have, under the actual position of affairs at the moment of receiving your despatch of the 12th instant, executed the instructions conveyed to me in that despatch.

At the time when your Lordship's instructions to me were sent off from London, neither the news of the departure of His Sardinian Majesty for the head-

quarters of the army, nor that of the Armistice of the 9th of August having been denounced, had reached you.

By the first of these events I was prevented from seeking an audience of His Sardinian Majesty unless by following him to the head-quarters of the army; and by the second I was assured that it was no longer possible to prevent the renewal of hostilities by His Majesty King Charles Albert.

Under these circumstances I did not consider it advisable by proceeding myself to the head-quarters of the Sardinian army to give rise to innumerable and contradictory rumours; nor did I conceive it becoming, after the little deference shown by the Sardinian Government to the advice and recommendations of the mediating Powers, that Her Majesty's Minister should have to witoeess the departure of His Sardinian Majesty and of his staff to cross the Tessin, half an hour after he had renewed by order of his Government those remonstrances which he had previously made against the renewal of hostilities, and which had been already rejected with such precipitancy and want of respect.

I did not however consider myself to be entirely absolved by the above circumstances from communicating fully to His Sardinian Majesty the opinions of my Government upon the rashness of the undertaking in which he had engaged; and I therefore decided upon dispatching M. de Salis to Novara with a letter from me to the King, in which, confining myself as much as possible to the terms of your Lordship's despatch, I stated to His Majesty the instructions I had received from your Lordship, and which I should have communicated to him myself had not his absence from his capital prevented me from so doing.

I calculated that M. de Salis would just have time to reach His Sardinian Majesty's head-quarters, and to deliver to him my letter, before the expiration of the Armistice; and my calculation proved correct, for on his return to Turin last night he informed me that he was received by the King at 9 o'clock yesterday morning, the 20th instant, and that at half-past 9 His Sardinian Majesty, at the head of the staff and three divisions of the Sardinian army, quitted Novara to take up a position on the banks of the Tessin, ready to commence hostile operations against the Austrians at any convenient moment after noon on that day, at which hour the Armistice terminated.

M. de Salis informed me that His Sardinian Majesty, after reading my letter with attention, naturally stated that as a Constitutional Sovereign he could make no written reply, and His Majesty observed that the efforts of the mediating Powers having failed to lead to any favourable results, he had been compelled to act as he had done, but that as an honourable peace was his principal object, he was ready to receive any proposals for such an arrangement as he might consider acceptable.

I had instructed M. de Salis, when he delivered my letter to the King, to say to His Majesty that if in consequence of its contents he should wish to see me, I was ready to proceed to his head-quarters, upon his expressing to me a desire to that effect, and that I should be equally willing to do the same at a future period, should he wish it. M. de Salis executed my instructions, but His Sardinian Majesty sent me no reply upon this subject.

I have now stated to your Lordship my reasons for taking upon myself the responsibility of varying the mode in which your instructions were to be executed as regards His Sardinian Majesty, and I hope I may have the satisfaction of learning that my conduct in this instance has met with the approbation of Her Majesty's Government, since while I deemed it right to regulate my conduct by the actual position of affairs at the moment of action, I took care that the opinions of Her Majesty's Government should be plainly and frankly communicated to His Sardinian Majesty himself, and that no doubt should possibly exist as to the advice which your Lordship had felt it to be right to offer to His Majesty at a moment when he was about to compromise so rashly the interests of his family and of his country.

The same evening that I dispatched M. de Salis to the King I called upon M. de Ferrari.

I stated to him the nature of the instructions which I had received that morning from your Lordship, and I added that the absence of His Sardinian Majesty from his capital having prevented me from requesting an audience of His Majesty to execute in person the orders I had received, I had deemed it expedient to communicate to His Majesty in writing the opinions of Her

Majesty's Government with respect to his intention of resuming hostilities against Austria; that as I wished that no misunderstanding should exist as to the nature of my communication to His Sardinian Majesty, I had called upon him without loss of time, for the purpose of informing him of the instructions I had received, and of the manner in which I had executed them; and I placed in his hands for his perusal, and that of two of his colleagues who happened to be present on the occasion, General Chiodo, Minister of War and President of the Council of Ministers, and the Marquis Vincenzo Ricci, Minister of Finance, copy of my letter to the King.

I need not waste your Lordship's time by repeating the observations of M. de Ferrari and of his colleagues in defence of the course pursued by the Sardinian Government, for they consisted merely in the declarations so often made by the Sardinian Ministers, that they were obliged to have recourse to war with a foreign country, for the purpose of preserving tranquillity in the interior of the dominions of His Sardinian Majesty; that Sardinia could not resist the cry which pervaded all Italy for the expulsion of the Austrians and for the completion of Italian independence; and that reasons of economy drove them to the necessity of renewing hostilities; but I can assure your Lordship that I did not terminate my interview with the three above-mentioned members of His Sardinian Majesty's Cabinet, without expressing to them in distinct terms the sentiments entertained by Her Majesty's Government with regard to the policy adopted by His Sardinian Majesty and his Ministers, and without manifesting my fears that by the advice which they had thought proper to offer to their Sovereign, they had seriously endangered the very existence of the Sardinian Monarchy and the best interests of their country.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 240.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 27.)

My Lord,

Turin, March 22, 1849.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that His Sardinian Majesty crossed the Ticino on the 20th instant, and advanced to Magenta, fifteen miles from Milan. The Austrian troops retreated without offering any resistance, and His Majesty returned the same evening to Treiate, within the Piedmontese frontier, where his head-quarters were established, leaving the Duke of Genoa's division on the left bank of the Ticino.

On the same day an Austrian force crossed the frontier and had an encounter with the Piedmontese at Mezzanacorti on the Po, a few miles from Pavia, where there is a bridge of boats which it seemed to be the object of the Austrians to secure, but in which object they failed, the Piedmontese having withdrawn the boats under the protection of two batteries of Lombard artillery. At the receipt of the latest information the Austrians were still on the left bank of the Po on the Piedmontese territory, although a report has since reached Turin that Pavia had been evacuated by them and occupied by the Piedmontese.

The Piedmontese army consists of seven divisions: the 1st and 2nd, being commanded respectively by Generals Giovanni Durando and Bés, are between Novara and the Po; the 3rd and 4th, under the command of General Perron and of His Royal Highness the Duke of Genoa, are with His Sardinian Majesty near Treiate, as well as the reserve division commanded by His Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy; the 5th division, composed of Lombards, is at Alexandria; and the 6th, under General Alphonse de La Marmora, is under orders to proceed to Parma. A brigade, of the strength of a division, is stationed at Arona, under the command of General Solaroli; and another brigade, forming the advanced guard, at Castel San Giovanni, fifteen miles from Piacenza.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

P.S.—The report, though not official, of this morning, is that the Austrians have crossed the Ticino and occupied Garlasco and Mortara.

No. 241.

Viscount Palmerston to the Hon. R. Abercromby.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 27, 1849.

I RECEIVED this morning your despatches of the 21st and 22nd instant.

I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government approve the course which you took as reported in your despatch of the 21st, for bringing to the knowledge of His Sardinian Majesty and his Government the opinion of the British Government with regard to the recommencement by Sardinia of hostilities against Austria, which I communicated to you in my despatch of the 12th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 242.

Mr. Edwards to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 27.)

(Extract.)

Paris, March 26, 1849.

IN consequence of the badness of the weather no intelligence reached Paris by telegraph either yesterday or up to a late hour this morning, respecting the movements of the Austrian and Piedmontese armies.

No. 243.

Viscount Palmerston to the Marquis of Normanby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 27, 1849.

I HAVE received your Excellency's despatch of the 8th instant, transmitting to me the copy of a note which your Excellency had received from the Apostolic Nuncio, inclosing the copy of the note which has been addressed by Cardinal Antonelli to the Representatives of all friendly Powers, requesting them to co-operate for the purpose of re-establishing the Papal authority at Rome.

I have to instruct your Excellency to say to the Nuncio that Her Majesty's Government have received and have attentively considered the communication which he has made to them through your Excellency, and that you are instructed to express to him the deep regret with which Her Majesty's Government have witnessed the differences which have arisen between the Pope and his subjects, the assassination of Count Rossi, the departure of the Pope from his capital and States, and the proclamation of a Republic at Rome.

The British Government is for many obvious reasons not desirous of taking an active part in any negotiations which may result from the application which the Pope has addressed to some of the Catholic Powers of Europe, whose territories are nearer than Great Britain in geographical proximity to the Italian Peninsula. But the British Government will be much gratified if the result of those negotiations should be such a reconciliation between the Pope and his subjects as might enable the former with the free good-will and consent of the latter to return to his capital, and there to resume his spiritual functions and his temporal authority. But it is the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that such a reconciliation could scarcely be effected, or if effected for the moment, could never be permanent, unless the basis upon which it was founded were to be that the Pope should engage to maintain the Constitutional and Representative system of Government which he granted last year to his subjects,

and unless the separation between the spiritual authority and the temporal powers and institutions of the State were so clearly and so distinctly established as to put an end to those manifold grievances which the mixture of the spiritual with the temporal power has for so long a period of time produced in the Roman States. The great importance of admitting laymen to administrative and judicial functions in the Roman States was pointed out to the late Pope by the memorandum presented in 1832 to the Roman Government by the Representatives of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia, and the events which have happened since that time, not only in the Roman States but in the rest of Europe, have tended to make it still more important that such a reform should be carried out into full and complete execution.

Your Excellency will give the Nuncio a copy of this despatch.

I am, &c.

(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 244.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 28.)

My Lord,

Turin, March 23, 1849.

I REGRET to say that the campaign has not opened in a favourable way for the interests of His Sardinian Majesty.

The remissness of General Romarino in not obeying orders afforded the Austrian troops the means of piercing the Sardinian line and of occupying Mortara. This first success of the Austrians has been followed up by their throwing a large force, estimated at 50,000 men, into the territory of His Sardinian Majesty, and Marshal Radetzky occupies a position his right resting upon the Tessin and stretching in an oblique direction with his left towards Vercelli, thus threatening to cut off the communications of the Sardinian army from its resources and from the fortress of Alexandria.

The Sardinian troops are now all concentrated in front of Novara, their left on the Tessin, and their right on the line of communication with the interior.

They thus front the Austrians, and it is expected that an engagement will be fought this day, the result of which will probably decide the fate of the campaign.

Some severe fighting has already taken place in which the Infantry Brigade of Savoy and the Regiment of Savoy Cavalry particularly distinguished themselves, but two guns belonging to the corps commanded by the Duke of Savoy have been lost.

Should the result of the battle expected to be fought to-day be favourable to the Piedmontese, they may then be able to retrieve their lost ground, and Marshal Radetzky will have to make a perilous retreat by the two bridges which he holds, one at Pavia, the other a few miles higher up across the Tessin; but should the Austrians be the victors, the condition of this country becomes then critical in the extreme.

The Piedmontese have from 40,000 to 45,000 men in hand in front of Novara.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 245.

Viscount Palmerston to Viscount Ponsonby.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 28, 1848.

I HEREWITH transmit to your Excellency, for your information, copy of a despatch from Prince Schwarzenberg to Count Colerodo, which has been communicated to me by the latter, and I have to say with reference to its contents, that Her Majesty's Government have learnt with deep regret the denoucement of the Armistice by the Sardinian Government, and the consequent renewal of hostilities between Sardinia and Austria. Her Majesty's Government have for some time past feared that these events were likely to

happen, unless negotiations were begun at Brussels; and therefore, while on the one hand Her Majesty's Government continued earnestly to entreat the Austrian Government no longer to delay sending its Plenipotentiary to Brussels, where the Sardinian Plenipotentiary had long since arrived; on the other hand they made the strongest representations at Turin to dissuade the Government of Sardinia from hastily inferring that the continual delay of the Government of Austria to begin the negotiation for peace, was to be understood as indicating a determination not to negotiate but to choose its own time for the renewal of the war.

Her Majesty's Government have now only again to express their deep regret that the indisposition of the Austrian Government, and the impatience of delay on the part of the Government of Sardinia, should again have involved the north of Italy in the calamities of war; but Her Majesty's Government would still be desirous of availing themselves, in conjunction with the Government of France, of any favourable opportunity which in the course of events might arise, to offer to the contending parties a friendly mediation with a view to the re-establishment of peace.

Your Excellency will give a copy of this despatch to Prince Schwarzenberg.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PALMERSTON.

No. 246.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 29.)

My Lord,

Turin, March 24, 1849.

I AM this moment returned from the Foreign Office, where I have been informed by M. de Ferrari that a telegraphic despatch from Alexandria had this instant arrived, announcing that from thence the sound of a heavy cannonade had been heard for some hours this day in the direction of Mortara.

It is thus probable that a battle is being at this moment fought in that direction.

The communications between Turin and Novara being cut off by the presence of some Austrians at Borgo Vercelli, nothing has arrived here this morning from the King's head-quarters.

It is asserted that an affair took place yesterday afternoon in the neighbourhood of Mortara, and that the Piedmontese having driven back the Austrian force in their front, had re-occupied the town.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 247.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received March 30.)

My Lord,

Turin, March 25, 1849.

M. DE FERRARI and General Chiodo, Minister of War, called upon me this morning to inform me that after a severe engagement between the Piedmontese and Austrian forces on the 23rd instant, in the neighbourhood of Novara, the Sardinian army was forced to retreat upon that town.

They further informed me that although no official documents had reached them containing reports of what had actually taken place, they had however learnt from one of His Majesty's servants who had arrived at Turin this morning, that His Majesty King Charles Albert had abdicated, and had quitted Novara yesterday at 11 P.M., taking the road to Vercelli, and as is supposed to Casale, but his ultimate destination is not yet known.

The Sardinian troops have quitted Novara in the direction of Borgo Manero, and General Bés's division have already arrived at Biella.

The same individual who brought the account of the King's abdication also states his belief that the Sardinian troops had quitted Novara in virtue of a capitulation or some arrangement entered into between them and the Austrian General, but on this point no very clear information has yet been obtained.

M. de Ferrari and General Chiodo having under the doubt that hangs over the present state of affairs expressed to me their wish that I should use my best endeavours to induce Marshal Radetzky to accord an armistice until the wishes and intentions of the new Sovereign can be known, and if possible to arrest the entrance of the Austrian troops into the capital, I have decided to proceed, accompanied by my French colleague, to the head-quarters of the Austrian army, for the purpose of restraining if possible the further effusion of blood.

According to the last accounts the town of Vercelli, on the line of communication between Novara and Turin, was occupied by Austrian troops, and it was reported that Trino was similarly held on the line of communication from Casale to this place.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

No. 248.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 1.)

My Lord,

Turin, March 27, 1849.

YOUR Lordship will have learnt from my communications the decision to which my French colleague and myself had come as to our proceeding to head-quarters.

In the afternoon of the 25th instant, M. de Bois-le-Comte and myself received from the late President of the Council a letter, a copy of which I herewith inclose.

At the same time we were informed by the Government that the Austrian troops had already reached the neighbourhood of the capital, and that great apprehension existed that they would speedily enter Turin.

No correct or authentic intelligence had reached the capital of the position of the Sardinian army, of the abdication of King Charles Albert, or of the intentions of his son, should the abdication of the King be verified.

The most pressing evil to avert, under all the circumstances of the case, as reported to us by the Council of Ministers, appeared to M. de Bois-le-Comte and myself to be the threatened entrance into the capital.

We therefore determined to act upon the request addressed to us by the late President of the Council, and to endeavour, by our personal influence with the Marshal, to obtain that he should halt his army until at least the ulterior views and intentions of the new Sovereign could be ascertained.

As our mission to the Austrian head-quarters partook of a municipal character, it seemed to me that it would be advisable that we should be accompanied on this occasion by a member of the municipal body of Turin; and M. de Bois-le-Comte having agreed to my suggestion, we proceeded together to the town-hall, and arranged that the Baron de Margherita, the Syndic of Turin, should accompany us.

We accordingly left Turin at midnight on the 25th instant, and reached Novara, the head-quarters of Field-Marshal Radetzky, in the forenoon of yesterday the 26th March.

On being received by the Marshal we learnt that that morning the ratifications of the armistice already concluded between His Majesty Victor Emanuel II and the Marshal had been exchanged, and that consequently hostilities had ceased, for the purpose of immediately negotiating a Treaty of Peace directly between Austria and Sardinia.

Our mission being thus ended we returned this morning to Turin.

I have the honour to inclose herewith a copy of the Armistice concluded between His Majesty King Victor Emanuel and Field-Marshal Radetzky.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 248.

*General Chiodo to the Hon. R. Abercromby.**Turin, le 25 Mars, 1849.*

LE Soussigné, Président du Conseil des Ministres, reconnaissant aux bienveillantes exhibitions faites ces jours passés par Mr. Ralph Abercromby, &c., a l'honneur de lui adresser la prière de vouloir bien avoir la bonté de demander une suspension de la marche de l'armée Autrichienne sur la ville de Turin, jusqu'à ce que soient connues les intentions de Sa Majesté le Roi à l'égard des présentes hostilités.

Le Soussigné, &c.

(Signé) CHIODO.

(Translation.)

Turin, March 25, 1849.

THE Undersigned, &c., grateful for the kindness shown by Mr. Abercromby, &c., within these last days, has the honour to request him to have the goodness to apply for the suspension of the march of the Austrian army on the city of Turin until the intentions of His Majesty in regard to the existing hostilities shall be known.

The Undersigned, &c.

(Signed) CHIODO.

Inclosure 2 in No. 248.

Armistice concluded between the King of Sardinia and Marshal Radetzky.

VICTOR EMANUEL, Roi de Sardaigne, à qui Sa Majesté le Roi Charles Albert, au moment de son abdication a confié le Commandement-en-chef de l'armée, vu les circonstances de la guerre, a conclu avec son Excellence le Maréchal Comte de Radetzky, une suspension d'hostilités, dont les conditions, que les parties contractantes s'obligent à suivre fidèlement, sont les suivantes :

I. Le Roi de Sardaigne donne l'assurance positive et solennelle qu'il se hâtera de conclure avec Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche un traité de paix dont cet Armistice serait le prélude.

II. Le Roi de Sardaigne dissoudra aussitôt que possible les corps militaires formés de Lombards, Hongrois, et Polonais, sujets de l'Empereur d'Autriche, en se réservant toutefois de conserver dans son armée quelques officiers des dits corps, suivant ses convenances. Son Excellence le Maréchal de Radetzky s'engage au nom de Sa Majesté l'Empereur d'Autriche, à ce que pleine et entière amnistie soit accordée à tous les dits militaires Lombards, Hongrois, et Polonais qui rentreront dans les Etats de Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale.

III. Le Roi de Sardaigne permet pendant la durée de l'Armistice l'occupation militaire par 18,000 hommes d'infanterie et 2000 de cavalerie des troupes de l'Empereur, du territoire compris entre le Po, la Sesia, et le Tessin, et de la moitié de la place d'Alexandrie. Cette occupation n'aura aucune influence sur l'administration civile et judiciaire des provinces comprises dans le territoire susdit.

Les dites troupes en nombre total de 3000 pourront fournir la moitié de la garnison de la ville et citadelle d'Alexandrie, tandis que l'autre moitié sera fournie par les troupes Sardes. La parole du Roi est le garant de la sûreté de cette troupe de l'Empereur.

Les troupes Autrichiennes auront libre la route de Valence à Alexandrie pour leur communication avec la garnison de la dite ville et citadelle.

L'entretien de ces 20,000 hommes et 2000 chevaux par le Gouvernement Sarde sera fixé par une Commission Militaire.

Le Roi de Sardaigne fera évacuer sur la rive du Po tout le territoire des

Duchés de Plaisance, de Modène, et du Grand Duché de Toscane, savoir : tous les territoires qui n'appartenaient pas avant la guerre aux États Sardes.

IV. L'entrée de la moitié de la garnison dans la forteresse d'Alexandrie, à fournir par les troupes Autrichiennes, ne pouvant avoir lieu qu'en trois ou quatre jours, le Roi de Sardaigne garantit l'entrée régulière de la dite partie de la garnison dans la forteresse d'Alexandrie.

V. La flotte Sarde avec toutes les voiles et tous les bateaux à vapeur, quittera l'Adriatique dans l'espace de quinze jours pour se rendre dans les États Sardes.

Le Roi de Sardaigne donnera l'ordre le plus péremptoire à ses troupes, et invitera ses autres sujets qui pourraient se trouver à Venise, de rentrer immédiatement dans les États Sardes sous peine de ne plus être compris dans une capitulation que les autorités militaires Impériales pourraient conclure avec cette ville.

VI. Le Roi de Sardaigne promet, afin de montrer son vrai désir de conclure une paix prompte et durable avec l'Empereur d'Autriche, de réduire son armée sur le pied ordinaire de la paix dans le plus court espace de temps.

VII. Le Roi de Sardaigne ayant le droit de déclarer la guerre et de faire la paix, et par conséquent aussi de conclure un armistice comme préliminaire de la paix, regarde par cette raison même cette Convention d'Armistice inviolable.

VIII. Le Roi de Sardaigne enverra immédiatement un Plénipotentiaire muni de pleins-pouvoirs ad hoc dans une ville quelconque, à choisir de commun accord, pour y entamer les ouvertures de la paix.

IX. La paix même et ses conditions particulières seront faites indépendamment de cet Armistice et d'après les convenances réciproques des deux Gouvernemens. Son Excellence le Maréchal Comte de Radetzky se fait un devoir de prévenir sans retard la Cour Impériale du désir réel de Sa Majesté Sarde de conclure une paix durable avec Sa Majesté Impériale et Royale.

X. La présent Convention d'Armistice est obligatoire pour tout le temps de la durée des négociations de la paix, et en cas de leur rupture, l'Armistice devra être dénoncé dix jours avant la reprise des hostilités.

XI. Les prisonniers de guerre seront restitués immédiatement par les deux Parties Contractantes.

XII. Les troupes Impériales arrêteront leurs mouvemens, et celles qui ont déjà passé la Sesia rentreront dans le territoire désigné ci-dessus pour l'occupation militaire.

Novara, le 26 Mars, 1849.

(Signé) RADEZKY.

(Signé) VICTOR EMANUEL.
Le Major-Général de l'Armée,
CHYZANOWSKI.

(Translation.)

VICTOR EMANUEL, King of Sardinia, to whom His Majesty King Charles Albert, at the time of his abdication confided the chief command of the army, considering the circumstances of the war, has concluded with his Excellency Marshal Count de Radetzky a suspension of hostilities, of which the following are the conditions, which the Contracting Parties engage faithfully to observe :—

Art. I. The King of Sardinia gives a positive and solemn assurance that he will hasten to conclude with His Majesty the Emperor of Austria a Treaty of Peace, of which this Armistice should be the prelude.

II. The King of Sardinia shall as soon as possible disband the military corps composed of Lombards, Hungarians, and Poles, subjects of the Emperor of Austria, reserving to himself, however, to retain in his service some officers of the said corps, according as may suit him. His Excellency the Marshal de Radetzky engages in the name of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria that a full and entire amnesty should be granted to all the said Lombard, Hungarian, and Polish soldiers who shall return to the dominions of His Imperial and Royal Majesty.

III. The King of Sardinia consents that while the Armistice continues the territory included between the Po, the Sesia, and the Tessin, and the half of the fortress of Alexandria, shall be militarily occupied by 18,000 infantry and

2000 cavalry of the Emperor's troops. This occupation shall not in any way affect the civil and judicial administration of the provinces comprised in the above-mentioned territory.

The said troops, in number not exceeding 3000, shall furnish half the garrison of the city and citadel of Alexandria, whilst the other half of it shall be furnished by Sardinian troops. The King's word guarantees the security of this force of the Emperor.

The Austrian troops shall enjoy free passage between Valence and Alexandria for their communication with the garrison of the said city and citadel.

The subsistence by the Sardinian Government of these 20,000 men and 2000 horses shall be paid by a military commission.

The King of Sardinia shall cause to be evacuated all the territory on the banks of the Po belonging to the Duchies of Placentia, of Modena, and of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany; that is to say, all the territories which did not before the war belong to the Sardinian States.

IV. The half of the garrison of the fortress of Alexandria which is to be furnished by the Austrian troops, not being able to arrive there for two or three days, the King of Sardinia guarantees the regular entry into the fortress of Alexandria of the said portion of the garrison.

V. The Sardinian fleet, as well sailing as steam-vessels, shall quit the Adriatic within fifteen days in order to return to the Sardinian States.

The King of Sardinia shall give the most positive orders to his troops, and shall call upon his other subjects who may be in Venice, immediately to return into the Sardinian States under pain of not being included in any capitulation which the Imperial authorities might conclude with that city.

VI. The King of Sardinia, in order to manifest his sincere desire to conclude a speedy and durable peace with the Emperor of Austria, engages as soon as possible to reduce his army to the ordinary peace establishment.

VII. The King of Sardinia having the right to declare war and to make peace, and consequently also to conclude an armistice as a preliminary to peace, considers for this very reason the present Convention of Armistice to be inviolable.

VIII. The King of Sardinia will immediately send to some city to be chosen by common agreement a Plenipotentiary for the negotiation of a peace, furnished with full powers for that purpose.

IX. The peace itself and its several conditions shall be made independently of this Armistice, and according to what shall be reciprocally suitable to the two Governments. His Excellency Marshal Count de Radetzky engages without delay to apprise the Imperial Court of the sincere desire of His Sardinian Majesty to conclude a durable peace with His Imperial and Royal Majesty.

X. The present Convention of Armistice is to have effect during the continuance of the negotiations for peace, and in case of their being broken off the Armistice must be denounced ten days before the resumption of hostilities.

XI. Prisoners of war shall be immediately restored by the two Contracting Parties.

XII. The Imperial troops shall suspend their movements, and those which have already passed the Sesia shall re-enter the territory designated above for military occupation.

Novara, March 26, 1849.

(Signed) RADEZKY.

(Signed) VICTOR EMANUEL.
The Major-General of the Army,
CHRZANOWSKI.

No. 249.

The Hon. R. Abercromby to Viscount Palmerston.—(Received April 1.)

My Lord,

Turin, March 27, 1849.

THIS morning General de Launay having requested my French colleague and myself to call upon him at the Foreign Office, he stated to us how desirable it was that the commencement of the new reign should not be ren-

dered more difficult than the circumstances under which it began already made it, by the imposition of too onerous burdens by Austria, in concluding a definitive peace, and he expressed to us the hope that our two Governments would feel disposed to afford to His Sardinian Majesty their powerful assistance and support in saving him from such a contingency.

The Armistice having stipulated that the conditions for a peace should be carried on directly between Sardinia and Austria, I do not consider that the question of General de Launay implied a request for the renewal of the mediation of Great Britain and of France; but the General justly estimating the importance of having a warm interest shown by England and France in the equitable adjustment of the conditions of a peace between Sardinia and Austria, was evidently most anxious not to lose a moment in conveying to us his wishes and his hopes upon the subject.

I did not hesitate to state to him at once that I completely felt the justice of the argument he had used when opening to us the object of his communication, and I could assure him that he would invariably find both Her Majesty's Government and myself ready to contribute as efficaciously as we could towards the welfare and prosperity of Sardinia, as well as towards the success of the particular object he had in view.

My French colleague replied to General de Launay precisely to the same effect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RA. ABERCROMBY